The Rise and Decline of Buddhism in India

Kanai Lal Hazra

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Preface

An attempt has been made in this work to present in a detailed and comprehensive manner the rise, the development of Buddhism in different parts of India and its decline. Although a good number of monographs have appeared on Buddhism, but there is no single work which presents a connected account of different aspects of Buddhism, its rise, its progress in various parts of India under the patronage of several dynastic rulers and then its decline in ancient India. I have tried to make a critical study of the subject with the help of all available sources. The material used in this study is mainly literary, but archaeological evidence has also been used to supplement literary evidence. The book has been divided into two parts. In the first part there are ten chapters. The first two chapters deal with the rise of Buddhism and its progress up to the Pre-Maurya period. Chapters three to seven discuss Buddhism in the Maurya empire, during the reign of the Śuṅgas, the Kāṇvas, the Sātavāhanas, the role of the Indo-Greeks and the Indo-Scythians for its progress, its importance and its popularity under the rule of the Guptas, the Maitrakas, the Maukharis and Harṣavardhana. The eighth chapter gives an account of Buddhism in Northern India after Harṣavardhana. The ninth chapter describes Buddhism during the rule of Śaśāṅka, the Pālas, several minor dynastic rulers and the Senas. The tenth chapter mentions Buddhism in Southern India. The second part contains four chapters which relate Buddhism as mentioned by Hiuen-tsang, the gradual decline of Buddhism from different regions of India, causes of the decline of Buddhism and the conclusion.

I express my deep gratitude to Dr. Sukumar Sengupta for his valuable suggestions relating to this work. I offer my sincere thanks to my brother Mr. Subodh Kumar Hazra for his interest in my work, and Dr. Daya Amarasekera of the Department of Sociology of the University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka, for taking special interest in my work.

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KANAI LAL HAZRA

Calcutta
1st October 1994

Abbreviations

AAHI	*An Advanced History of India*, R.C. Majumdar et al.
ACHI	*A Comprehensive History of India*, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri
AHD	*Ancient History of the Deccan*, J. Dubreuil
AIMA	*Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, J.W. McCrindle
AMB	*Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, N. Dutt
AMMK	*Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*
AN	*Aṅguttaranikāya*
ANM	*Age of Nandas and Mauryas*, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri
BD	*The Book of Discipline*
BHB	*Bu-ston, History of Buddhism*
BHI	*Bārhut Inscriptions*, B.M. Barua and K.G. Sinha
BIA	*Buddhism in India and Abroad*, A.C. Banerjee
CA	*Ceylon Today*
CCIM	*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, V.A. Smith
CGSKBI	*Coins of the Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, P. Gardner
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Sten Konow
CN	*Cullaniddesa*
CV	*Cullavaṃsa*
DBUP	*Development of Buddhism in Uttar Pradesh*, N. Dutt and K.D. Bajpai
DHNI	*Dynastic History of Northern India*, H.C. Ray
DN	*Dīghanikāya*, T.W. Rhys Davids and J.D. Carpenter
DPPN	*Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, G.P. Malalasekera
DPV	*Dīpavaṃsa*
EHD	*Early History of the Deccan*, R.G. Bhandarkar
EHI	*Early History of India*, V.A. Smith
EMB	*Early Monastic Buddhism*, N. Dutt
GEB	*Geography of Early Buddhism*, B.C. Law
HAB	*Hinduism and Buddhism*, C. Elliot
HAI	*History of Ancient India*, R.S. Tripathi
HB	*History of Bengal*, R.C. Majumdar

HCIP	*History and Culture of the Indian People*
HNEI	*History of North-Eastern India,* R.G. Basak
HTBSEA	*History of Theravāda Buddhism in South-East Asia,* K.L. Hazra
KK	*Kathākośa,* C.H. Tawney
LBB	*Lectures on Buddha and Buddhism,* R.G. Basak
LV	*Lalitavistara,* S. Lefmann
MCI	*Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*
MHV	*Mahāvagga,* I.B. Horner
MIB	*A Manual of Indian Buddhism,* K. Kern
MN	*Majjhimanikāya,* V. Trenckner and R. Chalmers
MP	*Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa,* F.E. Pargiter
MVU	*Mahāvastu*
PB	*Psalms of the Brethren,* Mrs. Rhys Davids
PHAI	*Political History of Ancient India,* H.C. Raychaudhuri
RTG	*Rājataraṅgiṇī,* M.A. Stein
SBCI	*Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India,* L.M. Joshi
SN	*Saṃyuttanikāya,* L. Freer and Mrs. Rhys Davids
SSLD	*The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan,* D.C. Sircar
SVK	*The Stūpa and Vihāras of Kaniṣka,* K.W. Dobbins
TGBI	*Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhisms in Indien, aus den Tibetischen Ubersetzt,* Von A. Schiefner

Part One

Chapter 1

The Rise of Buddhism

In the sixth century BC India was divided into a large number of independent states known as *janapadas* or *mahājanapadas*. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya,* one of the early Pāli canonical texts, gives a list of "sixteen states of considerable extent and power known as the 'Solasa Mahājanapadas' ".[1] These states flourished between the Hindukush and the Godāvarī shortly before the time of Gautama Buddha. They were: Kāśī (Vārāṇasī), Kosala (Oudh), Aṅga (east Bihar), Magadha (south Bihar), Vajji (Vriji) (north Bihar), Malla (Gorakhpur district), Cedi (between the Jumnā and the Narmadā), Vaṃśa (Vatsa) (Allahabad region), Kuru (Thāneśwara, Delhi and Meerut districts), Pañcāla (Bareilly, Badaun and Farrukhabad districts), Matsya (Jaipur), Surasena (Mathurā), Assaka (Asmaka) (on the Godāvarī), Avantī (in Malwa), Gandhāra (Peshawar and Rawalpindi districts) and Kamboja (south-west Kashmir and parts of Kafiristan).[2] The *Cullaniddesa*[3] mentions Kaliṅga in the list, and omits Gandhāra, but it substitutes Yona in its place. The Janavasabha Suttanta[4] of the *Dīgha Nikāya* gives a list of the *janapadas* in pairs. They were: Kāśī-Kosala, Vajji-Malla, Ceti-Vaṃśa, Kuru-Pañcāla and Maccha-Surasena. The *Mahāvastu,*[5] a Buddhist Sanskrit work, has a same list. But, it does not mention the name of Gandhāra and Kamboja, and, in its place, it refers to Śibi and Daśārṇa in the Punjab (or Rājputānā) and central India respectively. The Jaina *Bhagavatī Sūtra* contains a list of the sixteen *mahājanapadas,* but that is slightly different. It runs as follows: Aṅga, Baṅga (Vaṅga), Magaha (Magadha), Malaya, Mālavā(ka), Achcha, Vachcha (Vatsa), Kochcha (Kachcha), Pāḍha (Pāṇḍya or Pauṇḍra), Lāḍha (Lāṭa or Rāḍha), Bajji (Vajji), Moli (Malla), Kāsi (Kāśī), Kosala, Avāha and Sambhuttara (Sumhottara).[6] H.C. Raychaudhuri says, "It will be seen that Aṅga, Magadha, Vatsa, Vajji, Kāśī and Kosala are common to both the lists (i.e., the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and the Jaina *Bhagavatī Sūtra*). Mālavā of the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* is probably identical with Avantī of the *Aṅguttara.* Moli is probably a corruption of Malla. The other states mentioned in the *Bhagavatī* are new, and indicate a knowledge of the far east and the far south of India. The more The

extended horizon of the *Bhagavatī* clearly proves that its list is later than the one given in the Buddhist *Aṅguttara*. We shall, therefore, accept the Buddhist list as a correct representation of the political condition of India after the fall of the House of Janaka."[7] In this connection we may mention here the Mahāgovinda Suttanta of the *Dīgha Nikāya* which describes that India was then divided into seven dominions (Satta Bhārata).[8] These seven Bhāratas with their respective capitals are given here. They were: Kaliṅga (Dantapura), Assaka (Potana), Avantī (Mahissati), Sovīra (Roruka), Videha (Mithilā), Aṅga (Campā) and Kāsī (Vārāṇasī).

Of all the above states that flourished in the age of the Buddha and Mahāvīra, four kingdoms became very powerful than the others and each of these states tried to establish its suzerainty over its neighbouring states. These four states were Magadha, Kosala, Vatsa and Avantī. It is to be noted here that these states were monarchical. But there were also republican states. Among them, the most important were the Vajjians of north Bihar and the Mallas of Kusinārā and Pāvā.[9] Apart from these states, there were also several smaller republican states which were known as the Śākyas of Kapilavatthu (Kapilavastu), the Koliyas of Devadaha and Rāmagāma, the Bhaggas (Bhargas) of Sumsumāra Hill, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Kālāmas of Kesaputta and the Moriyas of Pipphalivana.[10]

The sixth century BC was an important landmark in the religious history of India. The rise of Buddhism took place in this century. It marked the end of the predominance of the Brahmanic period. The Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, was the son of Śuddhodana, the chieftain of Śākya clan. He ruled from Kapilavatthu over a small kingdom in the north-east part of the United Provinces and the neighbouring districts of southern Nepal.[11] His wife was Māyā or Mahāmāyā. She in her sleep saw a dream that the Boddhisattva appeared in the shape of a white elephant from the north and after encircling her rightwise three times entered her womb on the final day of the Āṣāḍha (Asāḷha) festival in Kapilavatthu. Then she became pregnant. After ten months she in order to visit her parents at Devadaha, gave birth to a son under the shade of a Śāla tree in Lumbinī near the ancient town of Kapilavatthu. Mahāmāyā died when the prince was seven days old. He was then brought up by his aunt Mahāpajāpati Gotamī (Mahāprajāpati Gautamī). The prince was known as Siddhattha (Siddhārtha) after five days of his birth.[12] Gautama (Gotama) was his another name.[13] He was also known as Śākyasiṃha because he was born in a Śākya family. His teacher was Viśvāmitra. The young prince, under his able guidance, learnt all sorts of arts, crafts and martial exploits within a very short time. He

then married Yaśodharā, the daughter of king Daṇḍapāṇi of the Koliyan republic. He lived in luxury for several years with her and enjoyed the worldly pleasures very much. Then they had a son whose name was Rāhula. Siddhattha lived in the palace up to the age of twenty-nine. His father built three magnificent palaces for him—one for the summer season, one for the rainy season and another for the winter season. In order to prevent his son from leaving the world what the astrologers predicted about him and to keep him away from the 'four sights, an old man, a sick, a corpse and a monk', King Śuddhodana arranged everything for his son's worldly pleasures and enjoyments. At the request of the prince, the king one day made arrangements for the former's visit to the pleasure garden. But on his way to the garden, the prince saw an old man with grey hair, a sick man, a dead body and a recluse. All these four sights made a great change in his mind. He at once realised the impermanence of all worldly things. He then determined to leave this world and wanted to go to the forest for meditation to attain the highest enlightenment. The prince, at the age of twenty-nine years, on the full moon day of Āṣāḍha, left the palace at the dead of night on horse back with Channa, the charioteer. After crossing the kingdoms of the Śākyas, the Koliyas and the Mallas, he arrived in the Anuvaineya town on the river Anomā in the early morning.[14] Here, after leaving Channa, he wandered alone in the forest and met a hunter with yellow robes. He then exchanged his dress with him.

Siddhattha went to the city of Vaiśālī (Vesālī) where he met Ālāra Kāḷāma (Ārāḍa Kālāma), the renowned philosopher,[15] who became his teacher and spent some time with him there. But Siddhattha wa not happy with his method of teaching and his philosophical viev He left him soon. Then he went to Magadha's capital Rājag (Rājagṛha, modern Rājgir), where he met Bimbisāra, the king. He promised him that he would come to him to give instruction in true knowledge after his enlightenment. He then met Rudraka Rāmaputra (Uddaka Rāmaputta), another famous philosopher at Rājagaha.[16] He too could not help him to find out the path leading to enlightenment. From there he went to Uruvelā[17] (modern Bodh-Gayā) where he met the *Pañcavaggiyas*, i.e., the five mendicants—Vappa, Bhaddiya, Assaji, Mahānāma and Aññātra Koṇḍañña.[18] At Uruvelā-Senāpatigrāma (Senāpatigāma) he sat down without food to engage himself in rigorous ascetic practices. But he realised that rigorous asceticism was not the path leading to enlightenment. After a fast for forty-nine days, he took food from the hand of Sujātā, the daughter of the landowner Senānī, and sat down under the Bodhi tree with a strong determination for his attainment of final liberation. He then uttered

these words, "Let my skin, my nerves and bones waste away, let my lifeblood dry up, I will not leave this seat before attaining perfect enlightenment."[19] In that night he in meditation acquired first his knowledge of his former states of existence, then through his divine eyes saw the nature of all beings, and also attained the knowledge of dependent causation (*pratītyasamutpāda* or *paticcasamuppāda*) as well as the knowledge of the four truths (*Āryasatyas* or *ariyasaccas*).[20] In the very early morning he became known as the Buddha, the fully Enlightened One by the attainment of his highest knowledge, the *Bodhi*.

The Buddha at first did not like to preach his new doctrine to the people. He hesitated and thought that the people would not understand his doctrine and would not accept it. But Brahmā Sahampati requested him to do so and then he took his decision to preach his *Dhamma* for the welfare of the world. At the Deer park called Ṛṣipatanamṛgadāva (Isipatanamigadāva) (Sārnāth) near Vārāṇasī, he delivered his first discourse known as the Dhammacakkappavattana sutta (Turning of the Wheel of the Law) to the *Pañcavaggiyas* who were living there.[21] He told them that everybody should follow a middle path. He mentioned them further that the easy life as well as the life of rigorous asceticism should be avoided because these were too extremes. He then explained to them the middle path (*majjhima patipadā*) or the noble eightfold path (*ariya atthaṅgika magga*) which consisted of right speech, right action, right livelihood, right exertion, right mindfulness, right meditation, right intention and right views. He then expounded the four noble truths, i.e., suffering, origin of suffering, causation of suffering and the path leading to the cessation of suffering.[22] He also delivered to them the Anattālakkhaṇasutta which deals with the doctrine of *anattā*.[23] After his discourses, he converted them to his new faith. Then Pūrṇa Maitrāyanīputra, Nālaka and Subhiya, who were recluses accepted Buddhism as their religion and became the Buddha's followers. Yaśa, a son of a rich merchant of Vārāṇasī, and his four friends—Vimala, Subāhu, Pūrṇa and Gavampati and fifty others, became the Buddha's disciples.[24] The Buddha then reached Uruvelā where he converted Uruvelā Kassapa, Nadī Kassapa and Gayā Kassapa and their followers, who were fire worshippers, by the performance of miracles,[25] and he delivered to them the Fire Sermon or the Adittapariyāyasutta[26] which says that the real fire consists of attachment, hatred and delusion which arise from sense-objects, sense-contacts and the like.[27] His disciples then became one thousand and the Buddha made his first *Saṃgha*.[28] He then went to Rājagaha where he met Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, his ministers and his citizens.[29] Here he preached the non-existence of the soul and the essencelessness of the five *khandhas* to them.[30] The king gave his bamboo-grove (Venuvana, Veluvana) to the Buddhist *Saṃgha* and became his lay-devotee. The Buddha accepted it and he established the first Buddhist vihāra. Sāriputta and Moggallāna, who at first were followers of Sañjaya, a heterodox wandering ascetic, became the Buddha's disciples.[31] He then came to Kapilavatthu—where he met his father—Śuddhodana, wife Yaśodharā and his son Rāhula. Here Nanda, another son of Śuddhodana, became Buddha's disciple and joined the Buddhist *Saṃgha*.[32] The Buddha then told Sāriputta to ordain Rāhula as a novice. Kāla Khemaka and Ghaṭāya were the two Śākyas who showed veneration towards the Buddha. They erected several monasteries in the Nigrodhārāma.[33] The Buddha, Ānanda and Moggallāna delivered a series of discourses to the Śākyas on the occasion of the inauguration of their new Santhāgāra or the Mote-Hall at Kapilavatthu.[34] At the Buddha's rquest many Śākyas became his followers and they joined the Buddhist *Saṃgha*. Like the Śākya men, the Śākya ladies wanted to join the *Saṃgha*. They felt very much for the Buddha and the *Saṃgha*. Then Anuruddha, Bhaddiya, Ānanda, Bhagu, Kimbila, Devadatta and Upāli were also converted by the Buddha.[35]

Anāthapiṇḍika, a wealthy merchant, requested the Buddha to come to Sāvatthi (Śrāvastī) where the former gave him the Jetavana monastery for the Buddhist *Saṃgha*. At Vesālī (Vaiśālī), the Buddha converted many Śākyas and Koliyas to his religion. They became his disciples. Here Mahāpajāpati Gotamī (Mahāprajāpati Gautamī), the step-mother of the Buddha with many Śākya and Koliya ladies requested the Buddha to give them permission for the formation of the *Saṃgha* of Nuns, the Order of Nuns, the *Bhikkhunī Saṃgha*. At the request of Ānanda the Buddha gave them permission on the condition that the nuns (*Bhikkhunīs*) should follow eight duties of subordination (*gurudhammā*).[36] Mahāpajāpati Gotamī joined the *Saṃgha* and became a *Bhikkhunī* (nun) and formed the *Bhikkhunī Saṃgha*. She did very well in the *Saṃgha* and became an *arhat*. Many Śākya ladies joined the Buddhist *Saṃgha*. Among them Tissā, Abhirūpa-Nandā, Mittā, Sundarī became very prominent and reached the stage of *arhat*-ship. Yaśodharā took Buddhism as her religion. The Buddha at Vārāṇasī met Mahākaccāyana (Mahākātyāyana), who was a son of the royal priest of Caṇḍa Pajjota (Pradyota), the king of Avantī. He became a disciple of the Buddha. It was because of him, Buddhism flourished in Ujjeni (Ujjaini).

The Buddha in the *Saṃgha* faced a strong opposition from his cousin and brother-in-law, Devadatta, who was very jealous of the

Buddha because of his great popularity and influence.[37] He requested the Buddha several times to mention his name as his successor. But the Buddha refused it. Devadatta then tried to bring a schism in the *Saṃgha* by telling the monks to disapprove the rules and regulations introduced by the Buddha for the monks in the *Saṃgha*. He left the *Saṃgha* with Vrijian (Vajjian) monks for Vesālī and stayed at Gayāsīsa.

The Buddha, after propagating his doctrine for forty-five years, expressed his desire for the attainment of Mahāparinibbāna (Mahāparinirvāṇa) at Kusīnārā (Kusīnagara). He was then eighty years old. At that time Ajātasattu (Ajātaśatru), the king of Magadha, sent the governor of Pāṭaliputra, Vassakara Brāhmaṇa to the Buddha at Rājagaha to tell him that he wanted to declare war against the Vajjians of Vesālī in order to conquer them. But the Buddha reminded him that it would be difficult for Ajātasattu to conquer them because of certain practices and noble virtues of the Vajjians. He then left Rājagaha. From there he came to Vesālī after passing through Ambalaṭṭhikā, Nālandā, Pāṭaligāma (Pāṭaligrāma), Kotigāma (Kotigrāma), and Nādikā.[38] Here he stayed at the mango-grove of Ambapāli and preached his doctrines to his disciples. From Vesālī he came to Bhoganagara where his devotees received instructions relating to the observance of moral precepts (*sīla*), meditation (*samādhi*), acquisition of knowledge (*paññā, prajñā*) and the attainment of emancipation (*vimutti, vimukti*) from him. He then came to Pāvā and stayed at the Mango Garden of Cuṇḍa who was a son of blacksmith. Here he fell ill after taking his meal. From there he came to Kusīnārā where, though he was ill, yet, he ordained Subhadda (Subhadra) a heretical monk. He was his last disciple. Then he delivered a speech to his followers: "Now, monks, I have nothing more to tell you but that all that is composed is liable to decay. Strive after salvation energetically."[39] He also informed Ānanda that after him his teachings and his rules would be their teacher and guide. He then announced his time for Mahāparinibbāna which occurred in the full moon day of Vesākha (Vaisākha).

It is known from different historical records that Gotama Buddha and his disciples succeeded in a great measure in their missionary activities. Because, they secured active support, co-operation and patronage from several rulers, queens, princes, as well as ministers, bankers and wealthy citizens. As a result, we see that Buddhism became very prominent in the religious history of ancient India. N. Dutt observes: "During the life-time of the Master, the religion should spread all over the central belt of India from Kajaṅgala and Campā on the east to Verañjā and Avanti on the west, and from

Rājagaha and Vārāṇasī to Kauśāmbī, Śrāvastī and Sāketa on the north, as also to the various tribes inhabiting the Himalayan foothills."[40]

CONTEMPORARY KINGS

THE HARYAṄKA DYNASTY

Bimbisāra

Bimbisāra was regarded as the real founder of the imperial power of Magadha. His kingdom was bordered on the north by the river Ganges, on the south by the small hills of the Vindhyan range, on the east by the river Campā and on the west by the river Son. It consisted of the districts of Patna and Gayā of southern Bihar. Girivraja or old Rājagṛha or Rājagaha was its old capital.

Bimbisāra was contemporary of the Buddha and was his great patron. He made an important contribution to the development of Buddhism in his kingdom. From the Pabbajjāsutta[41] we learn that the meeting between king Bimbisāra and the Buddha took place about seven years before the attainment of his Enlightenment. He then asked his royal officers to go to the Buddha to bring him to the palace. But the Buddha did not come. Then the king went to the Buddha's place where he was staying to meet him and to talk to him. The Buddha told him, "Just beside Himavanta oh! king, there lives a people endowed with the power of wealth, the inhabitants of Kosala. There are Ādikkas by family, Śākkiyas by birth, from that family I have wandered out, not longing for sensual pleasures. Seeing misery in sensual pleasures and considering the forsaking of the world as happiness, I will go and exert myself,—in this my mind delights."[42]

Then Bimbisāra came to know that he was the son of Śuddhodana, who promised the former that he would come to his capital after his Enlightenment. The Buddha just after the attainment of his Buddhahood came to Rājagaha and stayed at the Supatitthacetiya in the palm-grove pleasure ground (Latthi Vanuyyana),[43] where Bimbisāra went to pay homage to him. On this occasion the Buddha gave discourses which deals with *dānakathā, Śīlakathā,* the four noble truths, the *anicca* and *anattā* of the five *skandhas* (constituents of being) and also the doctrine of *pratītyasamutpāda*.[44] The king became very happy and immediately after his discourses, the king and his people took Buddhism as their religion and became his followers. The *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary describes that Bimbisāra became the *sotāpanna* when the Buddha delivered a discourse on the Mahā

Nārada Jātaka.[45] The king then offered his Veluvana park to the Buddha who gladly accepted it.[46] He then along with his children, wives, subjects and royal officers not only paid their homage to the Buddha but they were ready to sacrifice their lives for the service of the Master.[47] The king also issued an order that nobody must do any harm to the Buddha's disciples. It was due to the king's great love and sympathy for the Buddha and his meritorious activities, the Buddha was able to propagate his teachings in the kingdom of Bimbisāra without any difficulty and that is why, Buddhism prospered in his kingdom very much. At the request of king Bimbisāra, the Buddha not only framed rules and regulations for the Buddhist *Saṃgha* but also at the king's suggestion he introduced the Uposatha ceremony along with the recital of the Pātimokkha into *Saṃgha*.[48] Even the Buddha told his disciples to fix the date of the commencement of the Vassavāsa after their meeting with the king.[49] From the *Mahāvagga* we learn that the king invited all his superintendents of the 80,000 villages of his kingdom in a meeting to give them instruction and advice relating to his administrative affairs. After his meeting he told his officers to go to the Buddha not only to pay homage to him but to receive the Buddha's instructions in the transcendental matters.[50] It shows how much the Buddha and his religion influenced the life of the king. Khemā, who was the chief consort of Bimbisāra, entered the *Bhikkhuṇī Saṃgha* and soon became an *arhat*.[51]

Ajātasattu

Buddhism flourished in the reign of Ajātasattu (493-462 BC) who ascended the throne of Magadha after Bimbisāra in the 72nd year of the Buddha's life. From a tradition recorded in several Buddhist texts we learn that Ajātasattu, the most powerful son of Bimbisāra, killed his father at the instigation of Devadatta, a cousin and brother-in-law of the Buddha.[52] He also supported him in his attempt to kill the Buddha.[53] But later on, Ajātasattu not only realised his mistakes, but felt very sorry for his past misdeeds. Jīvaka, the eminent royal physician, arranged a meeting between the Buddha and Ajātasattu when the latter had no mental peace due to his sinful acts. His meeting with the Buddha had a great effect on his mind. The king became extremely happy and he told the Buddha that he repented for his great sin. He then became a devout follower of the Buddha. This thing happened one year before the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha. The king played a vital role for the progress of Buddhism in his kingdom.

Ajātasattu was a powerful ruler. From the *Ārya Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[54] we learn that Aṅga, Vārāṇasī and Veśālī came under his rule. He even received Kāsī or a part of it as a dowry by his marriage with Vajirā, the daughter of king Pasenadi of Kosala. Ajātasattu took the advice of the Buddha to conquer the Lichchhavis, who formed a constituent part of the Vajjian confederacy and who were then at the height of glory of their power as the head of a vast confederacy. The Buddha told Ajātasattu's minister Vassakāra that this was not the proper time for Ajātasattu to conquer them. The latter's chance of victory came after three years and he conquered them.

The Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha took place in the eighth regnal year of Ajātasattu.[55] When the ministers gave him the sad news he fainted immediately and behaved like a mad man.[56] From frescoes covering the walls of a walk around a stūpa at Qyzyl in the Kuch area of north-central Turkistan of the Tocharian period of the sixth century AD, it is also known that the news of the passing away of Buddha was communicated with great care to the king who had no idea of it. His minister informed him by a device. His minister asked him to take a bath in melted butter. While he was doing so, the minister showed him the principal events of the Buddha's life viz., the birth of prince Siddhattha, his enlightenment, his first sermon, and his Mahāparinibbāna in the Śāla-grove at Kuśīnārā in a painting on a canvas. The king cried out in despair when he saw the last scene,[57] i.e., when he learnt of the Great Loss. The king then sent messengers to the Mallas, who were present during the time of the Mahāparinibbāna and claimed his share of the Buddha's relics. He then received a share of the Buddha's relics and he built a stone stūpa at Rājagaha[58] over the remains. On this occasion he celebrated a feast. He built several Dhātucetiyas in and around Rājagaha.[59] He also repaired 18 Mahāvihāras at Rājagaha which were deserted by the Buddhist monks just after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha.[60]

Ajātasattu's name is closely associated with the First Buddhist Council which was held in the Sattapaṇṇi (Saptaparṇi) cave at Rājagaha two months after the Buddha's Mahāparinibbāna. He played a prominent part in this council. Subhadda, the last convert of the Buddha, became extremely happy at the Buddha's demise. He told other monks that henceforth there would be none to rebuke them and they would be able to do at their own will.[61] Subhadda's utterances had a very bad effect on the *Saṃgha*. Mahākassapa the chief disciple of the Buddha and other members of the *Saṃgha*, became anxious for the discipline of the *Saṃgha*. They then determined to convene a council of five hundred *arhats* at Rājagaha to rehearse the teachings of the Buddha.[62] They proposed it in order to establish a canon of the *Dhamma* and to maintain the discipline of the *Saṃgha*. There was seldom dissension over doctrinal matters, but the

council was necessitated by the pious determination of the disciples of the Lord to preserve the purity of the teachings.[63] From the Buddhist texts we learn that most of the *arhats* except Gavampati[64] and Pūraṇa[65] played their important parts for the progress of the council. Ānanda, who was not an *arhat* up to this time, became an *arhat* just before the beginning of the session of the council and was permitted by the *Saṃgha* to join the group of five hundred *arhats* selected for this council. Ajātasattu took active part in this council and gave all possible help for the success of the council. He built a spacious hall at the entrance of the Sattapaṇṇi cave on the Vebhāra (Vaibhāra) hill near Rājagaha and decorated it with precious mats. He arranged a seat for the President of the council on the south side and another seat for the reciting monk in the middle of the hall.[66] He also arranged accommodation and food for the monks. About five hundred Buddhist monks attended this council. Mahākassapa acted as its president. Upāli, who had been mentioned by the Buddha as the foremost of the Vinayadharas, recited the *Vinaya* rules. Ānanda recited the *Dhamma* (or the *Sutta*). Mahākassapa himself asked all questions relating to the *Vinaya* and the *Dhamma* both to Upāli and Ānanda. This council continued for about seven months in the Sattapaṇṇi cave. Thus in the First Buddhist Council the *Vinaya* was settled under the leadership of Upāli and the texts of the *Dhamma* was settled and arranged under the guidance of Ānanda. In the session of the council several charges brought by the monks against Ānanda were discussed and the latter gave the following explanations for these charges:

1. "He could not formulate the lesser and minor precepts, as he was overwhelmed with grief at the imminent death of the Master.
2. He had to tread upon the garment of the Master while sewing it as there was no one to help him.
3. He permitted women to salute first the body of the Master, because he did not want to detain them. He also did this for edification.
4. He was under the influence of the evil one when he forgot to request the Master to enable him to continue his study for a *kalpa*.
5. He had to plead for the admission of women into the order out of consideration for Mahāpajāpati Gotamī who nursed the Master in his infancy."[67]

The Dulva,[68] the Tibetan *Vinaya*, refers to two other charges against Ānanda. They were: Ānanda did not give drinking water to the Buddha when the latter asked thrice for it and when men and women of low character came to pay their homage to the Master after his Mahāparinibbāna, Ānanda then showed the Buddha's privy parts. Ānanda gave his reply. He said that the water of the river was not only clean, but was muddy. That was the reason why he did not supply drinking water to the Buddha. Ānanda showed the privy parts because, according to him, "that the exhibition of the privy parts, would rid those concerned of their sensuality."[69]

The First Buddhist Council also discussed another important item which was the punishment of Channa who was the Buddha's charioteer on the day of Great Renunciation. This monk had slighted every member of the order, high and low, and was arrogant in the extreme. The penalty imposed was complete social boycott. Then the punishment was announced to Channa he was seized with profound repentence and grief, and was purged of all his weakness. In short, he became an *arhat*. The punishment automatically ceased to be effective.[70]

Ajātasattu did a splendid job for the welfare and comforts of the participant monks and the success of the council. Like Bimbisāra, Ajātasattu was a great devotee of the Buddha. It was due to Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu, the Buddha became very popular and was able to win the hearts of the Magadhan people and it was easy for him to propagate his teachings there. Ajātasattu made a significant contribution for the propagation of Buddhism in his kingdom.

THE KOSALAN DYNASTY

Pasenadi

Mahākosala was the king of Kosala which corresponded to modern Oudh. His son was Pasenadi (Prasenajit) who became the king of Kosala most probably after the death of his father. He was a contemporary of the Buddha.[71] He was regarded as one of the most important rulers of the time. He not only conquered Kāśī but the Śākyas of Kapilavatthu, the Kālāmas of Kesaputta and other neighbouring states even came under his influence.[72] He extended his kingdom from the Gumati to the little Gandak, from the Nepalese Tarāi to the Ganges, and to the eastern part of the Kaimur range.[73]

The Buddhist texts refer to King Pasenadi's important role for the advancement of Buddhism in his kingdom. The *Majjhima Nikāya* mentions the Buddha as a Kosalan.[74] Pasenadi often told "*Bhagava pi Kosalako aham pi Kosalako*". (Our Lord also belongs to Kosala so do I

also.) King Pasenadi's conversations with the Buddha not only made him his ardent adviser but also his follower and close friend.[75] The Daharasutta refers to it, and his conversion to Buddhism.[76] He was so much devoted to the Buddha that when he met him, he bowed down with his head at the feet of the Buddha and worshipped him with kisses.[77] Under the instruction of his wife Mallikā, he offered valuable gifts to the Buddha on an immense scale. The Buddhist texts mention these gifts as *asadisadāna* or incomparable charity.[78] It shows his love for the Buddha, the *Saṃgha* and his religion. This also indicates the prosperity of Buddhism in the kingdom of Kosala under the leadership of Pasenadi. It is known from the Buddhist records that Junha, his minister, helped him at the almsgiving and the king was so happy with him that he asked him to rule over the kingdom for seven days.[79]

King Pasenadi's son Brahmadatta joined the Buddhist *Saṃgha* at an early age and he became an *arhat*.[80] His sister Sumanā also became a *Bhikkhuṇī* and attained the stage of *arhat*ship.[81] The Rājakārāma monastery which was situated near the Jetavana was built by him and the Buddha stayed there for sometime.[82] At the request of the Buddha the king gave it to the nuns and Sumanā resided there. The king had great regard for the Buddha. He supported him strongly in his missionary activities and took keen interest for the prosperity of Buddhism in his kingdom. It is said that the king was so much devoted to the Buddha and his religion that he paid homage to those who received the Master's praise,[83] and did not take any attention to those who had no respect and love for the Buddha and his religion.[84]

THE AVANTI DYNASTY

Caṇḍa Pajjota

Caṇḍa Pajjota (Mahāsena) (Chandra Pradyota Mahāsena), who was a contemporary of the Buddha, was the king of Avanti which corresponded to the Ujjaini (Ujjeni) region, together with a part of the Narmadā valley from Māndhātā to Maheswar and certain neighbouring districts.[85] Ujjaini was his capital in the sixth century BC. He was a powerful king. It is said that he not only declared war against Pukkusāti (Pushkarasārin), the king of Gandhāra,[86] but once he imprisoned Udena (Udayana), the king of Vatsa.[87]

Mahākaccāyana, who was the son of the royal priest, converted Caṇḍa Pajjota to Buddhism. The former, after his father's death, became the royal priest of Caṇḍa Pajjota, who told him to go to the Buddha to request him to come to his kingdom. According to his advice Mahākaccāyana with his seven companions came to Vārāṇasī to tell the Buddha to come to Avanti. The Buddha delivered several

discourses to them. They became monks and attained *arhat*ship. They said: "Lord, King Pajjota desires to worship at your feet and hear *Dhamma*." But the Buddha did not come to Avanti. They went back to their native place, and introduced Buddhism there. Caṇḍa Pajjota became a lay-devotee of the Buddha after listening to the Buddha's teachings from them.[88] The king then took active part for the development of Buddhism in his kingdom. Mahākaccāyana converted many people to Buddhism and built several monasteries at Kuraraghara, Papātapabbata and Makkarakaṭa. During the Buddha's life-time Avanti became famous as a great centre of Buddhism. The king became a great follower of Buddhism and offered valuable gifts to the *Saṃgha*. It was due to Mahākaccāyana's rigorous activities, Buddhism was able to establish itself there on solid foundation.

THE VATSA DYNASTY

Udena (Udayana)

King Satānika Parantapa's son was Udena, who ascended the throne of the kingdom of Vatsa. Kosambi (Kauśāmbī) was his capital. This has been identified with modern Kosam, a village on the Jumnā near Allahabad.[89] King Udena, who was a contemporary of the Buddha, at first did not pay any respect to the Buddha and his *Saṃgha*. Sāmāvatī, the adopted daughter of Ghosaka, was his queen. She was a follower of Buddhism and she devoted her time and energy to the progress of Buddhism in the kingdom of her husband. She was converted to Buddhism by Khujjuttarā, her female attendant. At her request, Ānanda with five hundred monks with the permission of the Buddha used to go to the palace of Udena everyday to give discourses to the women of the palace who in turn used to offer valuable gifts and costly robes to him and the five hundred monks.

Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja gave valuable services to the spread of Buddhism in the Vatsa country. At first King Udena was not happy with him. But soon he changed his mind and showed his friendly attitude towards him. He had long discussions with him on religious matters. After listening from him that the Buddha instructed the monks to meditate upon the bodies and to restrain their senses,[90] the king became happy, and then gladly accepted Buddhism as his religion. He became a lay-devotee of the Buddha.[91] He showed his keen interest in Buddhism and gave his help to the development of Buddhism in his kingdom. He invited many monks daily to his palace for meals. Under his guidance not only several monasteries were built but Buddhism also became very popular in the country of Vatsa.

GANDHĀRA

Pukkusāti

Gandhāra, which corresponded roughly to the modern districts of Peshawar (Purushapur) and Rawalpindi in the north-western Punjab[92] and Kashmir, was the country where Pukkusāti (Puṣkarasārin) ruled in the middle of the sixth century BC. His capital was Taxila. He established his friendly relations with Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha and there existed close cultural ties between the two countries.

King Pukkusāti, who was a contemporary of the Buddha, took keen interest in Buddhism through the efforts of Bimbisāra. The latter sent ambassadors with valuable gifts including an inscribed golden plate which had the description of the three jewels and of various tenets relating to the Buddha's teachings to him.[93] It is said that after reading the inscription on the plate the king joined the *Saṃgha* and became a Buddhist monk. He even came to Rājagaha to pay homage to the Buddha who preached to him the Dhātuvibhaṅga Sutta.[94] The king became an ardent follower of Buddhism and took active part to popularise Buddhism in his kingdom.

SOVĪRA

Rudrāyana

Rudrāyana occupied the throne of Roruka in Sovīra (or Sauvīra or the Lower Indus Valley) in the days of the Buddha. He received first the news of the Buddha in Magadha from Bimbisāra. The latter sent him an inscribed plate which contained some of the cardinal tenets of Buddhism. On seeing these, the king felt very much for the Buddha's religion and he became a follower of Buddhism. He then joined the Buddhist *Saṃgha* as a monk.[95] During the life-time of the Buddha, Buddhism established itself in the kingdom of Rudrāyana.

CONTEMPORARY CLANS

The Śākyas

The Śākyas, who claimed their descent from the family of King Ikṣvāku, lived in a state which was bordered by the Himālayas on the north, by the river Rāptī on the south and west, and by the river Rohiṇī on the east.[96] Kapilavatthu was their capital. They were regarded as vassals of King Pasenadi of Kosala.[97] But they were politically independent. They were Kṣatriyas. After receiving the news of the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha, they demanded a share of his

relics and requested with these words: "*Bhagavā amhākaṃ ñātiseṭṭho.*" (The Blessed One was the chief of our kinsmen).[98] The Śākyas were worshippers of the Brahmanic religion.

The Buddha after his enlightenment came to Kapilavatthu, but he did not receive a warm welcome from the Śākyas, who later on realised their mistakes and became great followers of the Buddha and his religion. They made valuable contributions to the introduction, establishment and development of Buddhism in their country. Soon Kapilavatthu became an important centre of Buddhism. Not only Kapilavatthu, but Cātumā, Sāmagāma, Khomadussa, Medahumpa, Nangara and Devadaha[99] were the places where the Buddha visited to preach his doctrines. In most of the places, the Śākyas received him with great honour. The Buddha's attempt to propagate his *Dhamma* in the Śākya country was successful no doubt. He by his simple method of preaching his doctrines made a deep impression on the minds of the Śākya people who in turn were eager not only to receive his teachings but gave their help for the establishment and prosperity of Buddhism. From the *Mahāvagga* we learn that persons who belonged to non-Buddhistic religious orders joined the Buddhist *Saṃgha* through a probationary period (Parivāsa) for four months, but the Buddha allowed the Śākyas because of their close relationship with him and also the *Jaṭilas* (who were believers in the effects of past deeds) to join the *Saṃgha* without passing through a probationary period.[100]

The Lichchhavis

The Lichchhavis were regarded as the most powerful clan in north-eastern India. In the time of the Buddha they became very prominent and occupied an important place in ancient Indian history. They formed a part of the Vajjian confederacy which included the old Videhas, the Jñātrikas, the Vrijis, the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Kauravas and the Aikṣvākas.[101] Veśālī (Vaiśālī) has been identified with the modern Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district of north Bihar. It was not only the capital of the Lichchhavis but was also the metropolis of the entire Vajjian confederacy.[102]

The Lichchhavis were the followers of the Brahmanic religion. Veśālī was also an important place for Jainism in the time of the Buddha. For this reason at first it was not easy for the Buddha to preach his doctrine to the Lichchhavis. In spite of the great opposition of the Jainas, the Buddha and his disciples came to the lands of the Lichchhavis to convert them to Buddhism. The *Majjhima Nikāya*[103] and the *Papañcasūdanī* (*Majjhima Aṭṭhakathā*)[104] mention that the Buddha converted Saccaka, the follower of the Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, and five hundred Lichchhavis to Buddhism after an argument with

them on some knotty points of Buddhist psychology and metaphysics and their defeat by him in this controversy. But the Buddha's mission was successful and many Lichchhavis accepted Buddhism as their religion. The Buddha and his disciples made a very good progress in their missionary activities in the countries of the Lichchhavis. Sīhā the Lichchhavi general,[105] and Diṭṭhaddha, a noble Lichchhavi,[106] embraced the religion of the Buddha. The latter also converted many Lichchhavis to Buddhism and also delivered discourses to them. The Buddha visited Veśālī to remove the pestilence that was ravaging the city.[107] He saved the Lichchhavis from the decimating disease. It was due to him the city was free from the epidemic.[108] That was the reason why the Lichchhavis became the great admirers of the Buddha. The Buddha had great feelings for the Lichchhavis and he also admired them very much. The Lichchhavis performed many meritorious acts and made a gift of several places of worship to the Buddha and the *Saṃgha* for the development of Buddhism in their country. They also erected several *caityas* (shrines) for the Buddha and the *Saṃgha*. They were—Sārandada, Sattambaka, Bahuputta, Gotamaka, Cāpāla and Udena.[109] The Lichchhavis also built the Kūṭāgārasālā in the Mahāvana for the residence of the Buddha.[110] The Buddha visited Veśālī many times and resided at the Kūṭāgārasālā and delivered several *jātakas* such as the Sīgāla,[111] the Telovāda,[112] the Bahiya,[113] and the Ekapaṇṇa.[114] Mahali, Nandaka, Bhaddiya, Mahānāma, Ugga-Gavapati, Piṅgiyāni-Brāhmaṇa[115] were the prominent Lichchhavis who were great followers of the Buddha. Many Lichchhavi women also embraced his religion. Sīhā, Jentā, Vāseṭṭhī etc. joined the *Bhikkhuṇī-Saṃgha* and played their roles for the progress of Buddhism in their country.

The Buddha always spoke highly in praise of the Lichchhavis. He liked them very much. He felt for this mighty and noble people. The Lichchhavis always paid their great respect to the Buddha. They were great followers of Buddhism and contributed largely to its progress in their country.

The Mallas

The Mallas who were regarded a very powerful people in northern India during the time of the Buddha, had their two divisions, one with headquarters at Kuśīnārā (Kasia) and the other with headquarters at Pāvā (Pādaraona).[116] They belonged to the Vasiṣṭha *gotra* and they claimed themselves as Kṣatriyas. They after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha demanded a portion of the relics and told:

> the Exalted One was a Kṣatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will we put up a several cairn, and in his honour will we celebrate a feast.

At first the Mallas were not very friendly with the Buddha, who came to their capital Kuśīnārā to preach his doctrines to them. Most probably, on seeing their unfriendly attitude towards the Buddha, the Malla Assembly issued a statement of a penalty of 500 Kahāpanas for a Malla citizen who did not take any attention to the Buddha or did not show any respect to him during his visit to Kuśīnārā. But the Buddha did fairly well here and converted many people to Buddhism. Among them Malla Roja,[117] Dabba Mallaputta,[118] Tapassu,[119] Sīhā[120] and Khaṇḍasumana[121] were the most prominent.

The Saṅgītisutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya*[122] refers to the Buddha's visit to Pāvā with five hundred disciples. Here he stayed at the mango-grove of Cuṇḍa, the smith. The Buddha at the request of the Mallas of Pāvā consecrated by preaching sermons at council-hall (*santhāgāra*) called Ubbhataka which was built by the latter. This shows their love and respect for the Buddha. It also indicates the popularity of Buddhism at Pāvā.

The Buddha took his meal at Cuṇḍa's house and there he fell ill. From there he went to Kuśīnārā for the attainment of his Mahāparinibbāna. When Ānanda announced the Buddha's death, the Mallas cried loudly and said: "Too soon has the Light gone out of the world." The Mallas then took his earthly remains to the Mukuta Bandhana shrine to the west of Kuśīnārā for the purpose of cremation and they treated his remains like the remains of a king of kings.[123] When the cremation was over they brought the remains to their council-hall. Afterwards, they constructed stūpas over their respective shares of the relics at Kuśīnārā and Pāvā.

The Bhaggas

The Bhaggas lived in the country which was located between Veśālī and Sāvatthī.[124] Their capital was Sumsumāragiri. It was a dependency of the Vatsa kingdom.[125] Bodhirāja Kumāra, who was the son of the king Udena of Vatsa, lived in the capital of the Bhaggas as his father's viceroy.

It is known from several records that the Buddha and his chief disciple Moggallāna came to the Bhagga country several times. At the inivitation of Bodhirāja Kumāra, the Buddha paid his visit to his palace Kokanada where he gave a discourse and the former embraced his religion.[126] Nakulapitā, Nakulamātā, Sirimaṇḍa, Sigālapitā[127] became the Buddha's followers. This shows that the Buddha

did his missionary activities very well in the Bhagga country. The Bhaggas also built a stūpa over a share of the Buddha's relics.

The Koliyas of Rāmagāma and Devadaha

Rāmagāma and Devadaha were the two chief settlements of Koliyas during the time of the Buddha. Alexander Cunningham says that the Koliya country lay between the Kohāna river and Aumi (Anomā) river which divided the Koliyas on the one side and the Mallas and the Moriyas on the other side.[128]

In the Koliya country the Buddha did very well in his missionary activities. He converted many Koliyas to Buddhism. The *Theragāthā*[129] describes that a quarrel arose between the Śākyas and Koliyas who used to live side by side, over the right of using water from a dam to irrigate their fields. The Buddha not only pacified them but quelled the feud by his discourses.[130] Many young people of both the tribes embraced Buddhism and joined the Buddhist *Saṃgha*. It was easy for the Buddha to propagate his teaching in the Koliya country because the Koliyas had close relationship with the Buddha through his mother and wife.[131] The Buddha and his disciples visited several Koliya towns which were known as Uttara, Sajjanela, Sāpūga, Kakkarapatta etc. Many Koliyas on hearing their discourses accepted Buddhism as their religion and joined the Buddhist *Saṃgha*. Puṇṇagovātika and Seniya-Kukkuravatika of Haliddavasana who were Brahmanic ascetics became devout followers of Buddhism.[132] Many Koliya ladies became lay-devotees of the Buddha. Among them Suppavāsā Koliyadhītā[133] and Pāṭaliyagāmaṇi were the prominent.[134] The Koliyas also received a share of the relics of the Buddha and they built a stūpa over it.

The Bulis of Allakappa, the Moriyas of Pipphalivana and the Kālāmas of Kesaputta

From the *Dhammapada* commentary[135] we learn that Allakappa of the Bulis was ten leagues in extent and the king of this country had good relationship with the king of Vethadīpa,[136] which most probably, was not far from Allakappa.[137] Droṇa, who was present at the time of the distribution of the Buddha's relics at Kuśīnārā after his Mahāparinibbāna, belonged to Vethadīpa.

The Moriyas of Pipphalivana were the close neighbours of the Koliyas beyond the Anomā river and the Mallas of Anupiya on the banks of that river.[138] Pipphalivana has been "located around the Nyāgrodhavana or banyan-grove in the modern Rājdhanī south-east of Gorakhpur city...."[139]

The Kālāmas of Kesaputta were the clan of Ālāra Kālāma who was a teacher of Gotama before the attainment of his enlightenment.

The Buddhist texts do not say anything about the propagation of Buddhism by the Buddha and his disciples to these countries. No record refers to the development of Buddhism in these countries. But most probably the Kālāmas of Kesaputta were devout worshippers of the Buddha[140] and the latter came to their territory to give discourses on the fundamental teachings of Buddhism.[141] From the Mahāparinibbānasuttanta of the *Dīgha Nikāya*[142] we learn that the Bulis of Allakappa and the Kālāmas of Kesaputta received their respective share of the relics of the Buddha along with other clans. They also built stūpas over their respective shares. But the Moriyas of Pipphalivana did not get a share of the relics. The received a share of the ashes from the funeral pyre. They also built a stūpa over the ashes.

References

[1]*AN*, I, 213; IV, 252, 255, 260. [2]*AAHI*, 56

[3]*CN*, II, 37. [4]*DN*, II. [5]*MVU*, I, 54; *PHAI*, 95, fn 1.

[6]*Saya*, XV, Uddessa (Hoernle, the *Uvāsagadasao*, II, Appendix); *DKUI*, 225; *PHAI*, 95-96.

[7]*PHAI*, 96 [8]*DN*, II, 235; *GEB*, 7. [9]*PHAI*, 191.

[10]Ibid., 191. [11]*HTBSEA*, 9.

[12]*HAB*, I, 133: "He who has achieved his object."

[13]*HAB*, I, 133: "This was the name of his *gotra*, or gems and roughly corresponds to a surname, being less comprehensive than the clan name Śākya. The name Gotama is applied in the *piṭakas* to other Śākyas such as the Buddha's father and his cousin Ānanda."

[14]*MVU*, II, 164 ff; *LV*, 227.

[15]*MN*, I, 80 ff. [16]Ibid., I, 80 ff. [17]Ibid., I, 77ff; *LV* 248ff.

[18]*DBUP*, 74 [19]*LV*, 362. [20]*AMB*, 206.

[21]*MHV*, I, 6; *MN*, I, 79. [22]*DBUP*, 175-81. [23]*MHV*, I, 6; *SN*, III, 66.

[24]*MHV*, I, 7-10. [25]Ibid., 14-21. [26]Ibid., 21.

[27]*BIA*, 35. [28]*MHV*, I, 20. [29]Ibid., 21.

[30]*MVU*, 441. [31]*MHV*, 1, 24. [32]Ibid., I, 54.

[33]*MN*, III, 109-10 [34]*SN*, V, 196; *BI*, 20. [35]*BIA*, 39.

[36]The eight duties of subordination are:

1. A nun, however old, must show respect to a monk, but never a monk to a nun;
2. a nun must not pass *vassa* in a monastery where there was no monk;
3. every fortnight a nun was required to ascertain from a monk the date of *uposatha* and the date fixed for monk's exhortation (*ovāda*) to the nuns;
4. a nun must perform *pavāranā* first in the order of monks and again in the order of nuns;
5. a *mānatta* discipline must be taken by a nun first from the order of monks and then from the order of nuns;
6. a nun after training in the six *pācittiya* rules (63-68) of *Bhikkhuṇī-pāti-*

mokkha, should seek Upasampadā from both the *Saṃghas* one after another;

7. a nun must not revile a monk; and
8. a nun must not admonish a monk or fix for the monks any date for *uposatha* or *pavāraṇā*. *DBUP*, 101, fn 1; *CV*, X, I; *EM*, 167.

[37] *CV*, VII, 1-4. [38] *MIB*, 42, fn 2. [39] Ibid., 44.
[40] *AIU*, 370. [41] *KN*, I, 329-30. [42] Ibid., I, 329-30.
[43] *VP*, I, 22. [44] Ibid., I, 38; *BVU*, III, 598-602.
[45] *MDR*, VI, 19-21. [46] *VP*, I, 17-18, 22; *BD*, IV, 51.
[47] *DN*, I, 116. [48] *BD*, IV, 131; *VP*, I, 2, 1-2. [49] *BD*, IV, 185.
[50] Ibid., 236-37, *VP*, I, 3-4. [51] *AN*, I, 25.
[52] *DN*, I, 85. [53] *SV*, I, 138-39; *EB*, Fascicle: Acala-Akan, 316.
[54] *AMMK*. [55] *MV*, II, 32. [56] *SV*, II, 605-6.
[57] *AIA*, 203-4; *EB*, Fascicle: Acala-Akan, 320 [58] *SV*, II, 610; *DN*, II, 164-66.
[59] *MV*, 247. [60] *SP*, I, 9-10. [61] Bapat, 35-36.
[62] *EMB*, I, 335. [63] Bapat, 31. [64] *EMB*, I, 335.
[65] Ibid., I, 335. [66] *MV*, III, 19-22; *EB*, Fascicle: Acala-Akan, 320.
[67] Bapat, 35. [68] Ibid., 35. [69] Ibid.
[70] Bapat, 35. [71] *PHAI*, 102. [72] Ibid., 199.
[73] Ibid. [74] *MN*, II, 124.
[75] *SN*, I, 68-70; *AN*, V, 65ff; *DV*, 154.
[76] *SN*, I, 69-70: "...*Upāsakaṃ maṃ bhante Bhagavā dhāretu ajjatagge pāṇupetam śaraṇaṃ gatan-ti*."
[77] *MN*, II, 120. [78] *VV*, 5-6. [79] *DPK*, III, 188ff.
[80] *TGG*, 460; *DPPN*, II, 332.
[81] *TIGG*, 22; *SN*, I, 97; *AN*, III, 32. [82] *JA*, II, 15.
[83] *MN*, II, 100; *DPK*, II, 150; III, 288. [84] *SN*, I, 153 ff.
[85] *PHAI*, 144. [86] Ibid., 204. [87] Ibid., *MN*, III, 7.
[88] *TG*, vv. 496-501. [89] *DPPN*, I, 694; *PHAI*, 131.
[90] *SN*, IV, 110-13. [91] Ibid., 113; LB, 74. [92] *PHAI*, 146; *DPPN*, I, 749.
[93] *PMMK*, II, 121. [94] *DPPN*, II, 215. [95] *DV*, 550 ff; *EHSBBS*, 190.
[96] *AI*, 161; *BLDO*, 95-96. [97] *MN*, II, 124.
[98] *DN*, II, 165. [99] *EMB*, I, 174. [100] Ibid., 281-82; *VP*, I, 69-71.
[101] *PHAI*, 118-20; *SV*, II, 519. [102] *MN*, II, 101; *BKS*, I, 257.
[103] *MN*, I, 229. [104] *PMMK*, I, 454.
[105] *MHV*, VI, 31; *BD*, IV, 318-25. [106] *DN*, I, 151.
[107] *MVU*, I, 253 ff. [108] Ibid., I, 259-99. [109] *DN*, II, 102.
[110] *SV*, I, 309. [111] *JA*, II, 102. [112] Ibid., I, 262-63.
[113] Ibid., 420-22. [114] Ibid., 504-8.
[115] *DN*, II, 169; *AN*, II, 190ff; V, 389-90. [116] *TAI*, 257; *PHAI*, 126-27.
[117] *MHV*, I, 247-48. [118] *VP*, III, 4ff. [119] *AN*, IV, 438-48.
[120] *PSB*, 80. [121] Ibid. [122] *DN*, III, 207ff.
[123] *DB*, II, 182; *DN*, II, 182. [124] *DPPN*, II, 345.
[125] Ibid., *PHAI*, 192-93. [126] *MN*, II, 91; *JA*, III, 157.
[127] *SN*, III, 1-5; IV, 116; *AN*, II, 61; III, 295. [128] *PHAI*, 192.
[129] *TG*, V, 529, 60. [130] *DPPN*, I, 690; *TAI*, 291. [131] *EHSBBS*, 165.
[132] *MN*, I, 387. [133] *AN*, I, 26; II, 62. [134] *SN*, IV, 340-58.
[135] *DPK*, I, 161; *DPPN*, II, 312.
[136] *AGI*, 714; *JRASGBI*, 900: Some scholars think that Vethadīpa was Kasia. But according to some, Vethadīpa was Bettiah in the Campāran district in Bihar.
[137] *PHAI*, 194, fn 4. [138] Ibid., 194, fn 4 [139] *BA*, 27.
[140] *TAI*, 289. [141] *AN*, I, 188ff. [142] *DN*, II, 164ff.

Chapter 2

The Progress of Buddhism up to the Pre-Maurya Period

The Haryaṅka Dynasty

Udāyibhadda

From the Buddhist and Jaina traditions we learn that Ajātasattu's immediate successor was Udāyibhadda or Udāyin (461-445 BC).[1] The Purāṇas say that Darśaka, who has been identified by some scholars with Nāgadāsaka (437-413 BC), ascended the throne after Ajātasattu.[2] The Ceylonese chronicles refer to Nāgadāsaka as the last ruler of Bimbisāra's line.[3] The Jaina texts mention that the son of Kuṇika (Ajātasattu) and Padmāvatī was Udāyibhadda.[4] The Buddhist tradition describes him as a parricide.[5] He was his father's viceroy at Campā before his accession to the throne.[6] He built a new capital called Kusumapura on the banks of the Ganges which became known as Pāṭaliputta (Pāṭaliputra).[7] He ruled for 16 years. The *Ārya Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[8] mentions that he was a devout Buddhist and gave his help for the progress of Buddhism in his kingdom. He had recorded the "words of the Master", which he had collected, into writing. He carried the "Gospel of Truth" to all directions in and outside his kingdom. This shows his great devotion to Buddhism.

Muṇḍa

The Purāṇas[9] refer to Nandivardhana and Mahānandin as the successors of Udāyibhadda. The Jaina source says that the latter had no children.[10] The Buddhist tradition gives the names of the three rulers—Anuruddha, Muṇḍa and Nāgadāsaka, who came to throne after Udāyibhadda.[11] There is a reference to Muṇḍa as the son of Udāyibhadda in the *Divyāvadāna*.[12] It is very probable that Anuruddha reigned for some time i.e., for a very short period. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya*[13] mentions that king Muṇḍa was so much upset and felt so sorry after the death of his wife Bhaddā that at first he did not allow to cremate her body, but he allowed when Nārada, a Buddhist monk,

who used to live at the Kukkuṭārāma near Pāṭaliputta delivered a discourse on the impermanence of worldly objects and things to him. This indicates that Buddhism influenced the life of the king and his people.

Nāgadāsaka

Nāgadāsaka,[14] who is said to have killed his father, Muṇḍa, ascended the throne of Magadha after the latter's death. He was regarded as the last king of the Haryaṅka dynasty which was founded by king Bimbisāra. No record refers to the development of Buddhism in his kingdom.

THE ŚIŚUNĀGA DYNASTY OR THE ŚUŚUNĀGA DYNASTY

Śiśunāga

Śiśunāga or Śuśunāga (413-395 BC), who was an able minister of the kingdom of Magadha, ascended its throne after Nāgadāsaka. The latter was driven out by his subjects probably of his worthlessness, his inhuman behaviour as a parricide,[15] his attitude towards his subjects and his failure as a king. The former founded the Śiśunāga dynasty. The *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*[16] says that Śiśunāga's father was a Lichchhavi *rājā* of Vesālī and his mother was a courtesan. But he was known as a minister's son because one minister adopted him. He was a Magadhan viceroy at Vārāṇasī.[17] The *Mālālaṃkāravatthu*[18] mentions that Vesālī was his capital. It is said that he not only conquered the kingdom of Avantī after defeating its ruler Caṇḍa Pajjota[19] but the kingdoms of Kosala and Vatsa came also under his rule. Nothing is known about the development of Buddhism during his reign from any record.

Kālāśoka

The *Mahāvaṃśa*[20] says that Śiśunāga's son was Kālāśoka (395-367 BC), who, after his father, ascended the throne of the Magadhan kingdom. The Purāṇas describe him as Kākavarṇa or Kākavarṇin.[21] W. Geiger, H. Jacobi and D.R. Bhandarkar think that Kālāśoka (the Black Aśoka) and Kākavarṇa (the crow-coloured) are identical.[22] The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* gives the name of Viśoka who was Śiśunāga's successor.[23] Kālāśoka's capital was Pāṭaliputta.

Kālāśoka's reign was an important in the history of Buddhism because of this king's close association with the Second Buddhist Council which was held at Vesālī one hundred years after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha to suppress the practices of ten un-*Vinayic* acts of some Vajjian or Vesālīan monks[24] who told openly about the validity of these acts. But several orthodox monks under the leadership of Yaśa protested against their un-*Vinayic* practices. They wanted king Kālāśoka's help in this matter. The king took part in this council and played his vital role to settle the disputes between the Vesālīan monks and the orthodox monks whose leader was Yaśa.[25] Thus in order to settle these disputes and to discuss the ten rules of the Vesālīan monks, the Second Buddhist Council, at the suggestion of the Saṅghanāyaka Revata, was held at Vesālī under the patronage of King Kālāśoka.[26] After a long discussion in the Council, the monks then took decision against the ten rules which were unlawful and were not permissible. But the monks from Vesālī did not accept the decision of the Council and did not agree with them. They not only left the *Saṃgha* but separated themselves from the *Saṃgha* of the orthodox monks. They founded a new *Saṃgha* which was called the Mahāsaṃghika and another council was held by them which became known as the Mahāsaṃgha or the Mahāsaṃgīti.[27] About ten thousand monks took part in it.

The Second Buddhist Council gives us an idea about the development of Buddhism in the kingdom of Kālāśoka. There arose two groups in the Buddhist *Saṃgha*—the orthodox and the unorthodox. The Vesālīan monks made a demonstration against the strict rules in the code of discipline and they in this matter wanted relaxation but the monks who belonged to Kośāmbī, Pāvā and Avantī did not like any relaxation in the code of discipline of the *Saṃgha* and they opposed it. About 700 monks were present in this council which was held for eight months. This shows the flourishing conditions of Buddhism in the reign of Kālāśoka. Thus there arose the first schism in the Buddhist *Saṃgha* after the session of the council. There appeared two sects which were then divided into several sub-sects. At that time there existed probably about eighteen or more sub-sects. From this time the cleavage in the *Saṃgha* became wider and wider, ultimately giving rise to as many as eighteen or more sub-sects. The Thera or the Sthaviravādins were split up into eleven sects and remained as Hīnayānic throughout their existence while the Mahāsaṃghikas became divided into seven sub-sects, gradually gave up their Hīnayānic doctrines and paved the way for the appearance of Mahāyānism.[28] The Theravādins or the orthodox monks who had firm faith in Hīnayānism upto their last existence were divided into eleven sects known as the Mahīśāsaka, Dharmaguptika, Sarvāstivāda, Kāśyapīya, Haimavata, Saṅkrāntika (Sautrāntika) and Suttavāda, Vātsīputrīya, Sammitīya, Dharmottarīya, Bhadrayānīya and Saṇṇagārika or Cha ṇṇāgarika.[29] The Mahāsaṃghikas became divided into seven sub-sects which were known as the Gokulika, Paññattivāda

(Prajñaptivāda), Bahuśrutīya, Cetiyavāda (or Caityika), Ekavyavahārika, Pūrvaśaila and Aparaśaila.[30] At first they were Hīnayānists. But after some time they discarded their doctrines and developed inclinations towards Mahāyānism. Bhavya and Vasumitra[31] say that the Sarvāstivādins appeared in the first quarter of the third century BC. After them, the Vātsiputrīyas, Dharmottarīyas, Sammitīyas, Channagārikas and Mahīśāsakas came into existence in the history of Buddhism in India. The Dharmaguptas, the Kāśyapīyas and the Sautrāntikas arose at the close of the third century BC. The second century BC witnessed the rise of the Ekavyavahārikas, Lokottaravādins, Gokulikas and the Prajñaptivādins. The appearance of the Caityakas and the Śaila sects took place at the end of the second century BC.

The Theravādins or the Sthaviravādins

The Theravāda was regarded as the most primitive as well as also the conservative school of Buddhism and its doctrines were in Pāli. This sect had a *Tipiṭaka* which comprised the *Sutta, Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma* in Pāli. The Theravādins held that the Buddha was a human being, but he had many super-human qualities. According to them, an *arhat* was a perfect person who reached the stage of Nibbāna but had no chance of fall from *arhat*-hood. They held that all worldly things which were subject to decay were *anicca, dukkha* and *anattā.* They admitted that the *majjhimapatipadā* which was also the *ariyaṭṭhaṅgikamagga* was the real path.

The Mahīśāsakas

Some Theravāda monks after leaving Pāṭaliputta came to south and made their homes in Vanavāsī (North Kanara) and Mysore and they also went to Ceylon. They became known as the Mahīśāsakas. They were very popular also in Avantī.[32] They were divided into two groups—the earlier group and the latter group.[33] The former agreed with the doctrines of the Theravādins while the latter accepted the teachings of the Sarvāstivādins. According to the Mahīśāsakas, an *arhat* had no chance of fall and no meritorious act was performed by him. They believed in the existence of nine unconstituted *dharmas.* But the latter group held that *khandhas, dhātus, āyatanas* and *anuśayas* remained permanently and there exists the past and future and *antarābhāva.*

The Dharmaguptas

Some Theravāda monks went towards north and settled there and used Sanskrit as the medium of their *Tipiṭaka.* They became known as the Dharmaguptas. They derived their name from the founder Dharmagupta who has been identified with Dharmarakkhita, the Yonaka missionary, who came to the north-western countries during the reign of Aśoka. This sect became very popular in central Asia and China. The Dharmaguptas held that gifts offered to the *Saṃgha* were more meritorious than those to the Buddha and the body of an *arhat* was pure.[34]

The Sarvāstivādins

The Sarvāstivādins were the branches of the Theravādins. Some Theravāda monks went towards northern India from Magadha and settled in Mathurā, Gandhāra and Kashmir. They became known as the Sarvāstivādins because of their fundamental doctrine of Sarvānasti "all things exist".[35] Kashmir was their main centre of activities. Sanskrit was used as the language of their sacred scriptures. Kaniṣka patronised this sect and it became very popular in northern India during his reign.[36] The Sarvāstivādins had their own canon in Sanskrit or in mixed Sanskrit.[37] It had three divisions—the *Sūtra,* the *Vinaya* and the *Abhidharma.* The Sarvāstivādins agreed with the Theravādins in their doctrinal matters. According to them, the five *dharmas,* i.e., *citta* (mind), *caitasika* (mental state), *rūpa* (matter), *citta-viprayukta* (states independent of the mind) and *asaṃskṛtas* (the unconstituted) could be divided into seventy-five and they remained intact in its subtlest forms in the past, present and future.[38] They believed that the Buddha was a human being but he reached the stage of enlightenment. All *arhats* had a chance of retrogression.[39]

The Kāśyapīyas

The Kāśyapīyas were also known by the name of the Sthaviriyas, Saddharmavarṣakas or Suvarṣakas. They had their own *Tipiṭaka* which consisted of the *Sūtra, Vinaya* and *Abhidharma.* They held that *arhats* had *kṣayajñāna* and *anutpādajñāna.*[40] According to them, *saṃskāras* were subject to decay and the past, present and future existed.

The Saṃkrāntikas or the Sautrāntikas

From the Pāli tradition we learn that the Saṃkrāntikas took their origin from the Kāśyapīyas.[41] They believed the transmigration of substance from one birth to another.[42] They held that the body of an *arhat* was pure. They denied the existence of past and future and they said that there was no real existence of the unconstituted *dharmas.*[43]

The Haimavatas

The followers of this sect became known as the Haimavatas because they took their origin probably in the Himalayan region. The Haimavatas held that the Bodhisattvas were like ordinary beings and they did not possess extraordinary powers. According to them, the *arhats* had ignorance and doubts.

The Vātsīputrīyas or the Sammitīyas

The Vātsīputrīyas were also known as the Sammitīyas. They belonged to Avantī and it was because of this they were called Avantakas or Avantīkas.[44] These Vātsīputrīyas or the Sammitīyas became very popular during the reign of Harṣavardhana and Rājyaśrī was a nun of this sect.[45] According to I-tsing, this sect became very popular in Lāṭa and Sindhu in western India, in southern India and also in Magadha and in eastern India. The Vātsīputrīyas held that there was a *pudgala* which passed through several existences before it reached the stage of *nirvāṇa*. According to them, an *arhat* had a fall from religious life and the *Ājīvikas* were not able to attain miraculous powers.

The Mahāsaṃghikas

The Mahāsaṃghikas originally belonged to Magadha. Its one group settled in northern and north-western India. This branch was split up into five sub-sects. They were the Ekavyavahārika, the Kaukulika, the Bahuśrutīya, the Prajñaptivāda and the Lokottaravāda.[46] Another group went to south India and settled in the Guntur district in Andhra Pradesh.[47] The Pūrvaśailas, the Aparaśailas, the Uttaraśailas, the Caityikas etc. were its branches. In Vesālī and Pāṭaliputra, the Mahāsaṃghikas became very popular and this sect flourished in these two cities. The Mahāsaṃghikas held that the Buddhas were *lokottara* (supra-mundane) and were composed of pure *dharmas*. They entered the wombs of their mothers in the shape of white elephants and at the time of their birth they came out from the womb from the right side of their mothers. According to the Mahāsaṃghikas, the *arhats* had no chance of fall from *arhat*-hood.

The Caityikas or the Caityakas

Mahādeva, the Buddhist teacher, founded the Caityika sect about two hundred years after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha. Mahādeva used to live in a *caitya* on the top of a hill and that is why, this sect received its name. The Caityikas held the construction of *caityas*, worship of *caityas* and a circumambulation of *caityas* were meritorious deeds. According to them, the Buddhas had no attachment, delusion and ill-will.

The Bahuśrutīyas

The founder of the Bahuśrutīya sect was a learned teacher and that is why, this sect became known as the Bahuśrutīya. The Bahuśrutīyas held that the Buddha's doctrines which related to *anityatā* (transitoriness), *dukkha* (suffering), *śūnya* (non-existence of objects), *anātman* (absence of soul) and *nirvāṇa* (the final bliss) were *lokottara*.[48] According to them, the Buddha had ten *balas* (powers), four *vaiśāradyas* (confidences) and other powers.[49]

Pāṭaliputta was the main centre of the Ekavyavahārikas. They held that all *dharmas* were not real and the absolute was rare and accidental. The Prajñaptivādins came into existence after the Bahuśrutīyas. The Pūrvaśaila, the Aparaśaila, and the Uttaraśaila or the Śaila sects received their names from hill and made their homes in Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in the Guntur district in Andhra Pradesh.

Kālāśoka occupied an important place in the history of Buddhism for his significant role in the Second Buddhist Council and also for his services to the cause of Buddhism. He showed his keen interest in the affairs of the Buddhist *Saṃgha*. From the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* we learn that Kālāśoka's successors were his ten sons who were Bhadrasena, Koraṇḍavarṇa, Maṅgura, Sarvañjaha, Jālika, Ubhaka, Sañjaya, Koravya, Nandivardhana and Pañcamaka.[50] They reigned simultaneously for twenty-two years (367-45 BC). The Purāṇas give only the name of Nandivardhana as Kālāśoka's successor.[51] The *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[52] refers to Śūrasena, his son, who succeeded Viśoka or Kālāśoka. Most probably, this Śūrasena was Bhadrasena of the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*.

Śūrasena

Śūrasena reigned for about seventeen years. Buddhism progressed very well in his kingdom under his great patronage. The Buddhist monks of the four quarters used to receive help from him for about three years. He even offered a gift of a hundred kinds of requisites to all *caityas* which existed in this world.[53]

THE NANDA DYNASTY

From Tāranātha's account[54] we learn that Nanda, who was a son of Śūrasena, occupied the throne after his father. He was the founder of the Nanda dynasty. After the death of Śūrasena, the Śiśunāga dynasty came to an end. The Purāṇas[55] refer to Mahāpadma (364 BC) or Mahāpadmapati "sovereign of an infinite host" or "of immense wealth" as the first Nanda king. The Jaina *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*[56] mentions that the founder of the Nanda dynasty was the son of a courtesan by

a barber named Divākīrti. The *Āvaśyakasūtra*[57] says that he was a Nāpitadāsa 'slave of barber'. The Purāṇas[58] say that he was the son of King Mahānandin by a Śūdra woman. The *Mahābodhivaṃsa*[59] states that the founder of the Nanda dynasty was Uggasena or Ugrasena. The *Vaṃsaṭṭhappakāsinī*[60] gives the name of Uggasena who was the eldest of the nine brothers and was the founder of the Nanda dynasty. It describes further that he belonged to some unknown family. But Viśākhadatta, Iravi Chakyar and Dhuṇḍirāja opine that King Sarvārthasiddhi Nanda and his nine sons were Kṣatriyas in the truest sense of the term.[61] Several historical records refer to the destruction of the Kṣatriya royal houses by the first Nanda king. He overthrew the Ikṣvākus, Pañcālas, Kāśīs, Haihayas, Kaliṅgas, Aśmakas, Kurus, Maithilas, Śūrasenas and Vithihotras and became known as the only sovereign of the world.[62]

Mahāpadma Nanda or simply Nanda rendered valuable services to the cause of Buddhism. He helped the Buddhist monks who belonged to Kāśī for many years.[63] His religious teacher was Kalyāṇamitra. At his advice he performed many meritorious acts. He offered gifts to the *caityas* which were built on the sacred relics of the Buddha.[64] During his rule Mahādeva's chief disciple Nāga tried to popularise the doctrines of the former in his kingdom. Tāranātha and Bu-ston refer to Mahāpadma Nanda as a devout Buddhist. He contributed valuable services to the prosperity of Buddhism and its *Saṃgha*. He supplied the monks of Kusumapura (Pāṭaliputta) with all their necessaries of life.[65] Tāranātha mentions that Nāga's disciple Sthiramati propagated the teachings of his teacher in his kingdom.

The *Mahābodhivaṃsa*[66] says that Mahāpadma-Ugrasena had eight sons who were known as Paṇḍuka, Paṇḍugati, Bhūtapāla, Rāṣṭrapāla, Goviṣāṇaka, Daśasiddhaka, Kaivarta and Dhana. They occupied the throne in succession after the death of his father. The Purāṇas and the Jaina texts[67] inform us that nine Nandas who ascended the throne to rule the country, were the father and his eight sons. The last Nanda king was Dhana Nanda who has been referred to by scholars with Agrammes or Xandrames of the classical writers. Dhana Nanda or Agrammes became very unpopular in his kingdom. His subjects also revolted against him. At that time Chandragupta, who belonged to the Maurya clan, with the help of Kauṭilya (Chāṇakya) and the king of Himavatkūṭa, overthrew the Nanda dynasty.[68] No record refers to the development of Buddhism during the rule of the eight Nandas who were on the throne of Magadha for about twelve years.

GENEALOGICAL LIST[69]

1. *The Haryaṅka Dynasty (According to the Mahavaṃśa)*
   Bimbisāra
   Ajātasattu
   Udāyibhadda
   Anuruddha
   Muṇḍa
   Nāgadāsaka

2. *The Śiśunāga Dynasty*
   Śiśunāga (Śuśunāga)
   Kālāśoka: ten sons of Kālāśoka:[70]
   Bhadrasena
   Koraṇḍavarṇa
   Maṅgura,
   Sarvañjaha
   Jālika
   Ubhaka
   Sañjaya
   Koravya
   Nandivardhana
   Pañcamaka

3. *The Nanda Dynasty*
   Nine Nandas

1. *The Śiśunāga Dynasty (According to the Purāṇas)*
   Śiśunāga
   Kākavarṇa
   Kṣemadharman
   Kṣatranjas
   Bimbisāra
   Ajātasattu
   Darśaka
   Udāyin
   Nandivardhana
   Mahānandin

2. *The Nanda Dynasty*
   Mahāpadma
   Eight sons

3. *The Nanda Dynasty (According to the Mahābodhivaṃsa)*[71]
   Mahāpadma
   Paṇḍuka
   Paṇḍugati
   Bhūtapāla
   Rāṣṭrapāla
   Goviṣāṇaka
   Daśasiddhaka
   Kaivarta
   Dhana

References

[1]*KK*, 177; 42; *MV*, IV; *DPV*, IV, 38; V, 97; X, B; *DN*, I, 50; *SP*, 72; *SV*, I, 153-54.
[2]*PHAI*, 216; *DKA*, 68-69. [3]*PHAI*, 216.
[4]*KK*, 177; 42; The Buddhist writers say that Vajirā, daughter of Pasenadi, was the mother of Udāyibhadda.
[5]*MV*, IV, 1ff. [6]Ibid., VI, 42. [7]Ibid., VI, 34, 175-80.
[8]*AMMK*, 604; *EMB*, II, 2 [9]*PHAI*, 218.
[10]Ibid., VI, 236. [11]*MV*, VI, 2-4; *SP*, 72-73. [12]*DV*, 369.
[13]*AN*, III, 57ff; V, 342. [14]*PHAI*, 216; *AIU*, 29.
[15]The *Mahāvaṃśa* refers to the kings of Ajātasattu to Nāgadāsaka of the Haryaṅka dynasty as parricides: *MVB*, IV, 1ff.
[16]*EHC*, XXXVIII; *PHAI*, 219, fn 5; *VPS*, I, 155.
[17]*PHAI*, 219. [18]*EMB*, II, 22. [19]*PHAI*, 220.
[20]*MV*, XLII-XLIII. [21]*DKA*, 68-69.
[22]*MV*, XLII; *PHAI*, 221; *JRASGBI*, II, 1901, 839-59.
[23]*BSI*, 5. [24]Ibid., 17-18; *EMB*, 35-36; *BIA*, 77 :

- (i) *Singilona kappa*—the practice of carrying salt in a horn for use when needed.
- (ii) *Dvaṅgula kappa*—the practice of taking food after midday.
- (iii) *Gāmantara kappa*—the practice of going to a neighbouring village and taking a second meal there the same day, committing thereby the offence of over-eating.
- (iv) *Āvāsa kappa*—the observance of the Uposatha ceremonies in different places within the same *sīmā*.
- (v) *Anumati kappa*—doing an ecclesiastical act and obtaining its sanction afterwards.
- (vi) *Ācina kappa*—the use of precedents as authority.
- (vii) *Amathita kappa*—the drinking of milk-whey after meal.
- (viii) *Jalogim pātum*—the drinking of fermenting palm-juice which is not yet toddy.
- (ix) *Adasakaṃ nisidanaṃ*—the use of a borderless sheet to sit on.
- (x) *Jātarūparajataṃ*—the acceptance of gold and silver.

[25]*EMB*, II, 32. [26]Ibid., II, 33; *MIB*, 104.
[27]*MV*, II; *SD*, 63; *MBV*, 96, 20. [28]*BSI*, 34-35.

[29]*EMB*, II, 33. [30]Ibid., 44. [31]Ibid.
[32]*BSI*, 131. [33]Ibid., 126. [34]Ibid., 185.
[35]*SL*, 7-8. [36]Ibid., 7. [37]*BIA*, 88.
[38]*BSI*, 162. [39]Ibid., 170. [40]Ibid., 186.
[41]Ibid., *EMB*, II, 166. [42]*BSI*, 187; *EMB*, 166. [43]*BIA*, 97, fn.47.
[44]*BSI*, 195. [45]Ibid., 194. [46]Ibid.
[47]Ibid. [48]*BIA*, 101. [49]Ibid., 102, fn.62.
[50]*PHAI*, 222. [51]*CI*, 83. [52]*AMMK*, 661.
[53]Ibid., 611: "*Tenāpi kāritā śāstuḥ kārā sumahatī tadā stūpairalaṁkritā sarvā samudrāntā vasundharā.*"
[54]*TGBI*, 52; *EMB*, II, 23. [55]*VPR*, IX, 184n. [56]Ibid., 46.
[57]*AIU*, II, 32. [58]Ibid., 31. [59]*PHAI*, 231.
[60]*VPS*, 13-14, 117; *BCLCV*, I, 604. [61]*BCLCV*, I, 604, fn27.
[62]*PHAI*, 233-34; *ANM*, 17. [63]*TGBI*, 52; *EMB*, II, 21.
[64]*AMMK*, 611-12; *EMB*, II, 24. [65]*TGBI*, 55.
[66]*PHAI*, 236. [67]*AIU*, II, 31. [68]*PHAI*, 268-69.
[69]*AIU*, 705-6. [70]*PHAI*, 222. [71]Ibid., 236; *AIU*, II, 31.

Chapter 3

Buddhism in the Maurya Empire

The rise of Chandragupta (*c.* 324-300 BC) took place in the fourth century BC. From the Jaina tradition we learn that he was the son of a daughter of the headman of the peacock-tamers.[1] The Brahmanical tradition mentions his connection with the Nanda dynasty of Magadha.[2] The *Kathāsaritsāgara* refers to him as a son of the Nanda.[3] The *Mahāvaṃsa* describes him as a member of the Kṣatriya clan named Moriya or Maurya of the Himalayan region.[4] The *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta* says that the Moriyas were the Kṣatriyas and they were regarded as the ruling clan of Pipphalivana in the Gorakhpur district in U.P.[5] Thus we conclude from the above facts that Chandragupta who belonged to a Moriya clan was a Kṣatriya community. Chandragupta with the help of Kauṭilya (Chāṇakya) overthrew Agrammes or Dhana Nanda, the last Nanda king and captured his capital.[6] Chandragupta was the founder of the Maurya dynasty. He conquered the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, Afghanistan, Himavatkūṭa, Nepal and Kashmir. Probably, he extended his kingdom up to Mysore in the south and in the north-west up to the borders of Persia.[7]

No record refers to Chandragupta's contribution to the Buddhist world. No source refers to the development of Buddhism in the kingdom of Chandragupta. Jainism and the Brahmanical religion flourished under his patronage. The Greek writers refer to a class of ascetics called *Sarmaṇas* in his kingdom. Several scholars think that *Sarmaṇas* of Megasthenes are the equivalent of Sanskrit *Śramaṇas*, the term which means ascetic. Bevan says that "his description applies to Brahmin ascetics rather than to Buddhists."[8] Radha Kumud Mookerjee thinks that they were probably Brahmins of the third and fourth *Āśramas* of life and he mentions them as *Parivrājakas* and *Saṃnyāsīs*.[9] But, according to E. Hultzsch, they were Buddhist monks.[10]

Bindusāra

After Chandragupta, his son Bindusāra (*c.* 300-273 BC) who was known as Amitraghāta "slayer of foes" ascended the throne of the Maurya empire.[11] The *Rājāvalikathā* refers to him as Siṃhāsena.[12]

Bindusāra was a powerful ruler of the Maurya dynasty and his reign may be regarded as an important period in the history of the Maurya empire. He was a great patron of Brahmanism.[13]

Aśoka

Aśoka (*c.* 273-32 BC), who was a son of Bindusāra, succeeded his father. He has been mentioned by historians as "the greatest of kings" and that "not because of the physical extent of his empire, extensive as it was, but because of his character as a man, the ideals for which he stood and the principles by which he governed."[14] Aśoka was appointed by his father as governor of Avantī. During this period he captured the power and administration of the Maurya empire at Pāṭaliputta in his own hands when he heard from Avantī that his father was approaching the end of his life.[15] From the *Divyāvadāna*[16] we learn that when Bindusāra died, the throne was lying vacant and Aśoka seized it. He, with the help of the entire ministry of Bindusāra, Prime Minister and five hundred other ministers, fought in the war of succession against his elder brother, who died in this battle.[17] From one story of the Ceylon chronicles[18] we learn that Aśoka, before his accession to the throne of the Maurya empire, killed his ninety-nine brothers born of different mothers. But V.A. Smith and other scholars did not accept this story of the Ceylon chronicles. The second story of the *Mahāvaṃsa*[19] says that Aśoka occupied the throne of the Maurya empire after murdering his eldest brother. But the *Divyāvadāna*[20] describes that Bindusāra on his death-bed requested his eldest son Susima to ascend the throne of the Maurya empire and for this purpose he even told his minister to arrange a ceremony to anoint him. But according to the advice of his ministers Aśoka occupied the throne of the kingdom in *c.* 273 BC. But it is to be noted here that his coronation took place after four years, i.e., 269 BC.

Aśoka like Chandragupta and Bindusāra also followed an aggressive policy of expansion of the Maurya empire which was extended from Afghanistan to Mysore. He occupied eastern, western and northern Bengal in the east. He conquered Kaliṅga. His Rock and Piller Edicts found in different parts of India indicate the vastness of Aśoka's empire. He with the help of his efficient ministers ruled the whole empire very energetically and by his wise judgment and good administration he was able to win the hearts of his people easily. His administrative systems and reforms show us that he was not only a good administrator of his time but was the greatest emperor of all ages. B.M. Barua says, "The institution of the quinquennial and triennial tours of official inspection (Rock Edict, III), the appointment of the Dharmamahāmātras as a new class of officials with their

duties clearly defined the elaborate arrangements made for the education of the people, the improvement of the jail administration (Rock Edict, V), the humanisation of the ruthless criminal laws (Pillar Edict, IV), the passing and enforcement of the various regulations of piety (Pillar Edicts, V and VII), the promulgation of ordinances (Schism Pillar), and the like were all measures devised to implement the duties of the ideal state as conceived and cherished by him."[21] From the above facts we conclude that he was a good administrator.

Aśoka's conquest of Kaliṅga was an important event in the history of Magadha and of India. It marks the close of that career of conquest and aggrandisement which was ushered in by Bimbisāra's annexation of Aṅga. It opens a new era—an era of peace, of social progress, of religious propaganda and at the same time of political stagnation and perhaps, of military inefficiency during which the martial spirit of imperial Magadha was dying out for want of exercise. The era of military conquest or Digvijaya was over, the era of spiritual conquest or Dharmavijaya was about to begin.[22] The conquest of Kaliṅga made a great change in his life. The sight of the misery and bloodshed in that sanguinary campaign made a deep impression on him and awakened in his breast feelings of *anusocana* 'remorse, profound sorrow and regret'.[23] The king was deeply moved on seeing the loss of human lives and felt very much for this great loss. He expressed his deep sorrow "not only for the slaughter of fighting men and the misery of prisoners of war, but for the Brāhmaṇas, and pious men of all sects and for householders within the Aryan pale, their friends, acquaintances, comrades and relatives, who had suffered all the cruel consequences of war—violence, slaughter, and separation from whom they love".[24] The conquest of Kaliṅga was his last political event.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* gives us an account of Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism. At the request of Aśoka, Nigrodha Sāmaṇera, who was his nephew came to the palace and preached to him the Appamāda Vagga which deals with the necessity of developing in life the quality of Appamāda or 'the principle of action' as the essential point of the "Good Faith".[25] The king then told Nigrodha: "This very day I accept as my refuge thee and the Buddha and the Doctrine and the Order, together with my wives and children, with my kith and kin. I declare to thee the fact of my having become a lay worshipper."[26] Aśoka accepted Buddhism as his religion and he became a devout Buddhist. The *Samantapāsādikā*[27] gives an account of Aśoka's gifts to Nigrodha and to the Buddhist *Saṃgha*. It describes that he spent 5,00,000 gold pieces daily for the Buddha's religion. Out of 5,00,000,

he gave 1,00,000 gold pieces to Nigrodha to spend for religious purpose; he then gave 1,00,000 gold pieces to spend for the offering of perfumes and flowers at the Buddha's shrines; he granted 1,00,000 gold pieces to spend for the preaching and development of the religion of the Buddha; he gave 1,00,000 gold pieces for the comforts of Buddhist monks; he then gave another 1,00,000 gold pieces to spend for medicines for the sick monks. Besides these gifts, Nigrodha also received from him sets of robes three items daily and the former gave them to other members of the Buddhist *Saṃgha*.[28]

From Aśoka's Minor Rock-Edict I[29] we learn that at first when Aśoka became a lay-devotee, he did nothing for the progress of the religion, but when he came into close contact with the Buddhist *Saṃgha*, he showed his great interest for the prosperity of Buddhism. There is a controversy regarding Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism. Some scholars express their doubts about his conversion to Buddhism as a full-fledged *Bhikkhu* (monk). R.K. Mookerjee[30] says that Aśoka for three years from the coronation was a worshipper of non-Buddhist religion. In the meantime he met Nigrodha who preached to him the Appamāda Vagga. It was because of Nigrodha, he came into close contact with several Buddhist monks. He then visited the Buddhist *Saṃgha* and at his request several Buddhist monks under the leadership of Moggaliputta Tissa came to his palace. At first, he was a follower of Nigrodha, but after some time he was not only a follower of the Buddhist *Saṃgha*, but was a great supporter of it. Aśoka in his Minor Rock Edict I says: "But a year indeed for more than I visited the *Saṃgha*, I exerted myself greatly."[31] On this point some scholars think that Aśoka entered the Buddhist *Saṃgha* at a certain stage of his life. But from epigraphical records we do not know anything about Aśoka's abdication of the throne and his life in the Buddhist *Saṃgha* as a monk. N. Dutt says that the inscriptions and Buddhist traditions do not say anything about Aśoka as an ordained Buddhist monk.[32] He was a lay devotee and it is very probable that he stayed in a monastery for sometime. Some scholars observe that he visited the Buddhist *Saṃgha* and expressed his great faith in Buddhism. But he never became a Buddhist monk, although he lived in the Buddhist *Saṃgha* for more than a year.[33] But from the Buddhist legends we learn that he was ordained in his old age and he reached the stage of Pratyeka-Buddhahood.[34] But his close contact with the Buddhist *Saṃgha* made him a great devotee of Buddhism and "in the beginning of his fervent aspirations towards perfections" he possibly became a Buddhist monk for a very short period.[35] But from the above facts we conclude that Aśoka showed his great faith in Buddhism and he played a very vital role for its progress in his kingdom.

From the Bhabru or Bairāt Edict we get an idea about Aśoka's faith in the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṃgha*. Aśoka's contact with the Buddhist *Saṃgha* no doubt gave him some knowledge of the Buddhist texts. In order to help the Buddhist monks and the lay disciples he recommended several Buddhist texts for the purpose of their constant study, for their daily practices and for the development of Buddhism. The Bhabru or Bairāt Edict says: "His gracious Majesty, king of Magadha, saluting the *Saṃgha*, and wishing them all health and happiness, addresses them as follows: Known is it to you, Reverend Sirs, to what extent is my reverence as well as faith in the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṃgha*. Whatever has been said, Reverend Sirs, by the Lord Buddha, all that has of course been well said. But of such what has been selected by me that True Dharma may be everlasting I may be privileged to state. The following, Reverend Sirs, are the passages of the scripture:

(i) The Excellent Treatise or moral discipline (*Vinaya-samukasa*).
(ii) The course of conduct followed by the sages—modes of ideal life (*Aliya-vasāni*).
(iii) Fear of what may come about in future (*Anāgata-bhayāni*)—dangers threatening the *Saṃgha* and the doctrine.
(iv) Poem on 'who is an hermit' (*Muni-gāthā*).
(v) Discourse on quietism (*Mauneya-sūte*).
(vi) The question of upatisya (*Upatisa-pasiṇe*).
(vii) The sermon to Rāhula beginning with the Sermon on Falsehood as delivered by the Lord Buddha (*Laghulovāde musāvādam adhigichya*).

These sections of the Dharma, Reverend Sirs, I desire that most of the reverend monks and nuns should repeatedly listen to and mediate and in the same way the lay disciples male as well female (should act)."[36]

From the *Divyāvadāna*[37] we learn that Aśoka became a follower of Buddhism under the influence of the Buddhist monk whose name was Bālapaṇḍita or Samudra. Aśoka stated: "I take refuge in (thee), the sage, and also in Buddha, the supreme embodiment of qualities as well as the Doctrine taught by the elect."[38] Afterwards, Upagupta, who became his great spiritual adviser, made a great influence on his life.[39] Aśoka visited Buddhist sacred places with the venerable Upagupta. It is known from the *Aśokāvadāna* that Aśoka under the guidance of Upagupta visited the stūpas of the Buddha's disciples, Sāriputta, Mahāmaudgalyāna, Mahākassapa, Vakkula and Ānanda.[40] He gave hundred thousand *suvarṇas* (gold pieces) in honour of each of the first three stūpas. For the stūpa of Vakkula he also gave a gift. He also spent ten million *suvarṇas* for Ānanda's stūpa. He also visited the Lumbinī park, the Bodhi tree, the Deer park (Sārnāth) and the place of the Parinibbāna (Kuśinagara) and for each of these sacred places he gave hundred thousand *suvarṇas*.[41] Aśoka's Rock Edict, VII says: "His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the present king, when he had been consecrated ten years, went out to the place of Sambodhi,[42] whence these Dharmayātrās in which are the following: visits and gifts to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas; visits and gifts of gold to the elders; visits to the people of the country instructing them in morality, and discussion with them on same as suitable thereto."[43]

Aśoka visited Lumbinī, the birth place of the Buddha and he also erected inscribed pillars at Rummindei and at Nigali Sagar. All these facts indicate the inclusion of the Nepalese Tarai in his empire. Aśoka's Nigliva Pillar (or Nigali Sagar Pillar) inscription gives us an account about Aśoka's visit to sacred place in the Nepalese Tarai. It says: "By his Sacred and Gracious Majesty the king consecrated fourteen years was doubly enlarged the stūpa of Buddha Konākamana (or Konāgamana) and (by him) consecrated (twenty years) coming in person, and reverence being made, was set up (a stone pillar)."[44] A Nepalese tradition[45] says that Aśoka under the guidance of Upagupta visited Nepal and near modern Kathmandu he founded the city of Patan. He erected a stūpa at the centre of the city and also built four stūpas at the important places. His daughter Cārumatī whose husband was Devapāla,[46] a Nepalese Kṣatriya, visited Nepal and stayed there and founded the city of Deopātan or Devapātana near Paśupati. She also erected a monastery to the northern side of Deopātan and lived there till her last days as a female recluse.[47] From the above facts we conclude that Upagupta influenced the life of Aśoka very much. But apart from Upagupta, there was another monk whose name was Samudra, who also occupied an important place in Aśoka's religious life. But the Aśokan edicts do not say anything about him.

From Aśoka's legends we learn that Aśoka built many stūpas and vihāras all over his empire. Moggaliputta Tissa told him about 84,000 sections of the *Dhamma*. When he knew it, he built an equal number of stūpas and vihāras in his kingdom and he also erected the Aśokārāma at Pāṭaliputta.[48] According to a tradition, Aśoka opened the original stūpas in which the Buddha's relics were enshrined and he seized them and kept them amongst his 84,000 stūpas which he constructed all over the country from Kapisa to Orissa.[49] His legends[50] say that several supernatural agents i.e., *yakṣas* constructed these stūpas with half a night's labour. All these facts clearly show

Aśoka's devotion to Buddhism and his valuable contribution to its progress.

Aśoka always took keen interest in the affairs of the Buddhist *Saṃgha*. That is why, he issued orders that the Buddhist monks and nuns would receive the punishment of expulsion from the *Saṃgha* if they would bring a schism in the Buddhist *Saṃgha*. Aśoka's Minor Pillar Edict at Sārnāth says, "(Thus ordains) His Sacred (and Gracious) Majesty ... Pata (liputra) ... the *Saṃgha* cannot be torn asunder by any one whatsoever. Whoever, monk or nun, breaks up the *Saṃgha* must be made to wear white garments and to take up abode in a place other than a monastery. Thus should this order be made known in the *Saṃgha* of *Bhikṣus* as well as of *Bhikṣuṇīs*...."[51] Aśoka's Minor Pillar Edict at Kausāmbī, describes, "... Also whosoever, monk or nun, breaks up the *Saṃgha*, after being clothed in white garments, shall take up abode in a place other than a monastery."[52] Aśoka's Pillar Edict at Sāñcī[53] also discusses the same thing and mentions the punishment of expulsion from the *Saṃgha* if a monk or a nun would bring a schism in the *Saṃgha*. Aśoka for the welfare of the Buddhist *Saṃgha* expelled the heretical monks from the *Saṃgha*. Aśoka also issued order that some classes of animals, birds and fishes should not be killed (Pillar Edict, V) on particular days observed as holidays according to the Brahmanical and Buddhist usages.[54] From this Pillar Edict, V, we get an idea about Aśoka's Regulation of Piety (*Dhamma-niyama*) motivated by the spirit of *ahiṃsā*. It indicates that Aśoka was a true Buddhist and observed the rules and regulations of the *Dhamma* strictly.

From the *Aśokāvadāna* we learn that Aśoka convened a great assembly of *pañcavaras* or *pañcapariṣad* (five assemblies) and about three hundred thousand monks attended it. The king made his offer to this assembly his son Kuṇāla, his ministers and even his own persons, reserving for himself his treasure. Afterwards, he gave 4,00,000 *suvarṇas* for all these gifts.[55] When Aśoka knew about Anāthapiṇḍaka's largest donation to the Buddhist *Saṃgha*, he at once announced his donation of a thousand millions to the Buddhist *Saṃgha*.[56] He spent hundreds of gold coins for the moral uplift of his subjects, for religious education, for the erection of monasteries and for the religious monuments. In this way, he spent about nine hundred ninety-six crores for the progress of the Buddha's religion. But suddenly he fell ill before the fulfilment of his promise. He then spoke to his minister Rādhagupta: "I do not feel sorry for any loss of my wealth (or property), of my own kingdom, or for my separation from my house (or residence), but I feel sad because I shall have to be separated from the Āryas (i.e. the Buddhists)."[57] Aśoka also again spoke to Rādhagupta: "My shedding of tears is due to my thought that I shall not (be able to) worship all virtues and revered by men and gods, by supporting the same with excellent food and drink."[58] Aśoka for the fulfilment of his promise sent gold, gems and other valuables to the Buddhist *Saṃgha*.[59] But his grandson Sampadi or Samprati, who was then the crown-prince, told the treasurer not to send anything for charities. So it was not possible for Aśoka to make any gift to the *Saṃgha*. He then sent his gold plates in which his meals were served. But when no gold plate was available, he then used to send his silver plates to the *Saṃgha*. But the crown prince stopped it. Aśoka as his last gift sent to the Buddhist *Saṃgha* the half of the *āmalaka* fruit[60] which was pounded to powders by the members of the Buddhist *Saṃgha*, and those powders were then mixed in their soup which was served to all the members of the monasteries. Aśoka before he breathed his last, made a gift of the whole kingdom to the Buddhist *Saṃgha*.[61] After Aśoka's death his immediate successor ascended the throne of the Maurya empire after sending the sum of forty millions to the Buddhist *Saṃgha* which Aśoka promised to give it to the *Saṃgha*. The *History of Tāranātha*[62] also mentions Aśoka's assembly of *pañcavaras* and his gifts to the Buddhist *Saṃgha*.

The Chinese records refer to the introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir by Aśoka. Hiuen-tsang[63] says that under the patronage of Aśoka, Buddhist monks went to Kashmir to popularise the teachings of the Buddha. He built monasteries there. Many Buddhist monks from Magadha went to Kashmir to settle there. Aśoka constructed about five hundred monasteries for the Buddhist monks of Kashmir and gave up all Kashmir for the benefit of the Buddhist *Saṃgha*.[64] N. Dutt[65] says that the monks who went to Kashmir from Magadha to save their lives were the Sarvāstivādins. Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* mentions that Aśoka built Śrīnagarī, a beautiful city, and also covered Suṣkaletra and Vitistrā with many stūpas and one of his stūpas was so high that 'its pinnacle could not be seen'.[66]

From the *Aṭṭhakathā*[67] and the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*[68] we learn that Aśoka evoked the Third Buddhist Council at the end of 236 years after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha in order to purge the *Saṃgha* of the heretics. There is a difference of opinion among the scholars as to whether the council was actually held or not. N. Dutt[69] thinks that this council was an affair of the Theravādins and that is why the Chinese and the Tibetan sources and other texts of the non-Theravādin sects did not mention anything about it. The Theravādins played the vital role in this council. It was held under the patronage of Aśoka and the Theravādins discussed their problems in

this council. Practically, it was the meeting of all Buddhists. At the end of the council Aśoka despatched missionaries to different countries to propagate the teachings of the Buddha. But Aśoka in his edict did not say anything about this council.

The Ceylon chronicles say that about two hundred years after the death of the Buddha many non-Buddhists in order to live comfortably in the Buddhist *Saṃgha* joined it. No Uposatha ceremony was held for seven years because the Theravādins did not like to perform the ceremony with the unorthodox monks. When Aśoka came to learn this incident, he sent his minister to the Aśokārāma to request the Buddhist monks to hold the Uposatha ceremony. But when they refused the minister became angry and beheaded them one after another. When Aśoka knew it, he felt sorry for the way his minister did. He thought that he was responsible for it. He then consulted Moggaliputta Tissa, the oldest and the most learned of the monks and at his advice he expelled from the *Saṃgha* about 60,000 heretics who refused to subscribe to the Vibhajjavāda i.e., the analytic method of textual exegesis, favoured by the Theravāda school. It was for this reason the Third Buddhist Council was held under the leadership of Moggaliputta Tissa, who composed the *Kathāvatthu* in the session of the council. Aśoka gave his help for the success of this council. At the end of the council Aśoka sent forth nine missionaries to nine different countries for the propagation of the Buddha's teachings. The *Mahāvaṃsa*[70] says that Aśoka sent Majjhantika (Madhyāndina) to Kashmir and Gandhāra (Peshawar and Rawalpindi districts), Mahādeva to Mahiṣamaṇḍala (Mahiṣmatī, a district south of the Vindhyas or Mysore or Māndhātā), Maharakkhita to Yavana or Greek country (the foreign settlements of the North Western Frontier Province), Rakkhita to Vanavāsī (north Kanara), Dhammarakkhita to Aparāntaka (Western countries like Alor, Broach and Sopara), Mahādhammarakkhita to Mahāraṭṭha (Mahārāṣṭra), Majjhima to Himavanta (the Himalayan country), Mahinda to Tambapaṇṇi (Ceylon or Sri Lanka), and Soṇa and Uttara to Suvaṇṇabhūmī (Lower Burma).

From Aśoka's Rock Edict, II and XIII we get the names of several countries where messengers were despatched by Aśoka for Dharma-*vijaya* or Moral conquest and for medical treatment, arrangements were made for men and beasts. This indicates that there existed close cultural and religious ties between Aśoka's capital and the places mentioned in his edicts during his reign. All these edicts throw light on Aśoka's religious and social activities which were not confined to India but had spread over India, Ceylon, Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Epirus and Cyrene.[71] Aśoka by his missionary activities laid the

foundation of Buddhism as a world religion. V.A. Smith says, "His imperial patronage, gradually increasing as his faith grew in tensity, made the fortune of Buddhism, and raised it to the position which enables it still to dispute with Christianity the first place among the religions of the world so far as the number of believers is concerned."[72]

Aśoka ruled for about 40 years and he died in 232 BC.[73]

Kuṇāla

The *Vāyu Purāṇa* states that Kuṇāla occupied the throne after Aśoka and he ruled for about eight years. The *Divyāvadāna*[74] refers to Kuṇāla as the son of Aśoka's queen Padmāvatī, who never ascended the throne. It describes further that he was sent to Takṣaśilā to suppress a revolt and through an intrigue of step-mother Tiṣyarakṣitā, he was made blind. Afterwards he became a Buddhist monk. From the *Kuṇālasūtra*[75] we get an account of the activities of Kuṇāla who was also known as Dharmavivardhana. It throws light on Aśoka's son Dharmavivardhana, who played an important role for the introduction of Buddhism in Central Asia. A Khotanese legend[76] says that Aśoka's son Kuṇāla, who was himself exiled from Takṣaśilā, was regarded as the earliest ancestor of the royal family of Khotan.

Jalauka, Tīvara and Mahendra

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the Kashmir chronicle, says that after Aśoka's death, his son Jalauka[77] declared independence in Kashmir and extended his conquest as far as Kanauj. He was hostile to Buddhism and patronised the Nāga and Śaiva cult of Kashmir.[78] Aśoka's another son was Tīvara, who probably did not receive a share of the patrimony. Mahendra[79] who was Aśoka's son, was a follower of Buddhism. He never wanted to capture the throne. He became a Buddhist monk and took the leading part for the introduction and development of Buddhism in Ceylon.

Daśaratha

V.A. Smith says, "Perhaps the empire was divided immediately after Aśoka's death, between his grandsons, Daśaratha taking the eastern, and Samprati the western provinces, but there is no clear evidence to support this hypothesis."[80] Daśaratha reigned in Magadha and assumed the title Devānampiya (Devānampriya). The Jaina literary tradition of western India refers to him as an eminent patron of Jainism, who constructed many Jaina monasteries even in non-Āryan countries.[81]

Samprati

Samprati, who was Aśoka's another grandson, showed his hostile attitude towards Buddhism. He patronised Jainism.

Sāliśūka and Bṛhadratha

Sāliśūka who has been mentioned "as a wicked quarrelsome king" succeeded Aśoka's grandsons. He was unrighteous and equally oppressed the country. Bṛhadratha, the last prince of the Maurya dynasty, was murdered in 187 BC by his commander-in-chief, Puṣyamitra, who founded the Śuṅga dynasty.

GENEALOGY

The Maurya Dynasty

Chandragupta
Bindusāra
Suṣima (Sumana), son of Bindusāra
Aśoka, son of Bindusāra
Vigatāśoka (Tiṣya), son of Bindusāra
Nigrodha, son of Suṣima
Mahendra, son of Aśoka
Kuṇāla (Suyaśas), son of Aśoka
Jalauka, son of Aśoka
Tivara, son of Aśoka
Bandhupālita (Daśaratha), son of Kuṇāla
Samprati, son of Kuṇāla
Vigatāśoka, son of Kuṇāla
Sāliśūka, son of Samprati
Somaśarman (Devavarman)
Satdhavan
Bṛhadratha
Pūrṇavardhana

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MV, V, 34; SP, I, 44; DPPN, II, 284. — AIU, II, 71.
ANM, 208. — DV, 234-35. — Ibid., 234-35.
MV, V, 20; DPV, VI, 21-22. — Ibid., V, 40.

DV, 372-73. — AHI, 221. — PHAI, 306-7.
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AK, 20. — SP, I, 52. — PPS, 9, II, 930.
AM, 108-9, 215. — Ibid., 108, fn3. — Ibid., 188.
EMB, II, 262-64. — AIU, II, 75. — DU, 140-44.
EB, II, Fascicle 2, 187, fn22. — AM, 217-18.
DV, 236-41. — Ibid., 80. — BSI, 137.
LEAICT, 29. — Ibid., 30.
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EMB, II, 265. — MV, XII, 1-8. — AM, 233-35.
EHI, 198. — Ibid., 207; PHAI, 348. — PHAI, 349.
AAHI, 110. — EHI, 203. — Ibid., 201; PHAI, 350, 361.
RTGS, I, 136, 140-41. — DPV, 27. — EHI, 203.
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Chapter 4

Buddhism During the Reign of the Śuṅgas, the Kāṇvas, the Sātavāhanas and the Successors of the Sātavāhanas

The Śuṅgas

Puṣyamitra

From the Purāṇas[1] and the *Harṣacarita* we learn that Bṛhadratha, the last Maurya emperor, was killed by Puṣyamitra, who was his commander-in-chief of the forces. The latter captured the throne of Magadha and founded the Śuṅga dynasty. The *Divyāvadāna* says that Puṣyamitra belonged to the Mauryas. The Purāṇas mention that he came from the Śuṅga family. There is a reference to Puṣyamitra's son Agnimitra as a member of the Naimbika family of the Kāśyapa lineage in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra.* Pāṇini connects the Śuṅgas with the well known Brāhmaṇa family of the Bhāradvāja clan. Puṣyamitra's capital was Pāṭaliputta (Pāṭaliputra). He brought under his rule the cities of Pāṭaliputta, Ayodhyā, Vidiśā and Vidarbha (Berar). He extended his empire up to the south of the river Narmadā. He also extended his rule over Jālandhar and Śākala in the Punjab.[2]

The *Divyāvadāna* and Tāranātha refer to Puṣyamitra as a cruel persecutor of Buddhism. He was its fierce enemy. He destroyed stūpas, burnt many monasteries from Madhyadeśa to Jālandhar in the Punjab and killed many learned monks. He tried to destroy the Kukkuṭārāma, the famous monastery at Pāṭaliputta, but he got frightened to go inside when he heard a roar and he returned without damaging anything.[3] The *Divyāvadāna* mentions further that he even announced a price of hundred pieces of *dīnāra* (gold) coins on the head of every Buddhist *Śramaṇa*[4] in the Śākala country in the Punjab.

Puṣyamitra, after his accession to the throne of Pāṭaliputta, played a vital part for the growth of Brahmanism. He was a pro-Brahmanic and contributed largely to the progress of Brahmanism. Under his

patronage Brahmanism became the prominent religion in his kingdom.

It is generally believed that during the reign of the Śuṅgas[5] the Buddhist monuments were erected at Bharhut. On this ground most of the scholars rejected totally the *Divyāvadāna* tradition which refers to Puṣyamitra as a cruel persecutor of Buddhism. They further say that Buddhism flourished in the Śuṅga period and Sāñcī, Bodh Gayā, Sārnāth and Lauriyā Nandangarh were important centres of Buddhism during the rule of the Śuṅga kings. Even from the inscriptions of Bharhut and Sāñcī we learn that the royal householders as also the common people offered gifts to the Buddhist monuments. But some scholars argue that the gateway at Bharhut was constructed not in the reign of Puṣyamitra, but during the reign of his successors who showed their tolerant policy towards Buddhism and its followers. They also opine that Puṣyamitra founded a dynasty in about 187 BC and the gateways were erected towards the end of the Śuṅga period.[6]

Puṣyamitra's Successors

Puṣyamitra ruled for thirty-six years (*c.* 187-151 BC) and after his death, Agnimitra, who was a governor of the province of Vidiśā (or eastern Mālavā) during his father's reign, ascended the throne of the Śuṅga dynasty.[7] He ruled for about eight years. Then Jyeṣṭha (or Sujyeṣṭha), Vasumitra (or Sumitra) and Bhadraka (or Andhraka or Antaka or Ardraka or Odraka) who occupied the throne in succession after him, reigned for nineteen years. The Pabbosā inscription near Allahabad refers to Udāka who has been identified by scholars with Bhadraka, the fifth Śuṅga king.[8] It describes, "... a cave was caused to be made in the tenth year of Udāka for the use of the Kāśyapīya Arhats." If the above identification is accepted it then indicates the development of Buddhism under the patronage of the common people during the reign of the Śuṅga king Udāka. The inscription also informs us about the popularity of the Kāśyapīya school in this part of India. The next three rulers were Pulindaka, Ghoṣa (or Ghoṣavasu) and Vajramitra. But nothing is known about them from any record. The ninth ruler of the Śuṅga dynasty was Bhāgavata who reigned for thirty-two years.[9] He has been identified by scholars with Mahārāja Bhāgavata referred to in one of the Bhāgavata inscription discovered at Bhilsā in Madhya Pradesh. The inscription throws light on the flourishing condition of Vaiṣṇavism and its influence upon the Bactrian-Greeks. Devabhūti, the last ruler of the Śuṅga dynasty, ascended the throne after Bhāgavata. He reigned for ten years. The Śuṅgas continued their existence in Vidiśā

in central India till the arrival of the Sātavāhanas who brought the downfall of the Śuṅga power.[10]

The inscriptions on the inner railings and gateways of the Buddhist stūpa at Bharhut in central India gives us an account of the development of Buddhism under the patronage of the people during the reign of the Śuṅgas. These inscriptions inform us that Buddhism not only prospered but the rail-bars on the inner railings and the gateways of the Buddhist stūpa at Bharhut were erected during the Śuṅga period.

The Kāṇvas

The Kāṇva or Kāṇvāyana dynasty which ruled over northern India for a period of about forty-five years appeared in Indian history after the fall of the Śuṅga power. It is known from a tradition that Devabhūti, the last Śuṅga monarch, was killed by a slave girl at the instance of his minister Vāsudeva.[11] The latter then captured the throne and founded the Kāṇva dynasty in 75 BC.[12] The Purāṇas mention the Kāṇva kings as Śuṅgabhṛtyas or servants of the Śuṅgas probably because of their service in the administration of the Śuṅga rulers. It is generally believed that the Kāṇva kings ruled over Magadha only. Vāsudeva was the first ruler of this dynasty. The next three rulers who ascended the throne in succession after him were Bhūmimitra, Nārāyaṇa and Suśarman.

The Kāṇva kings were Brahmins. But no record refers to Buddhism in the kingdom of the Kāṇva rulers.

Genealogy

The Śuṅga Dynasty[13]

Puṣyamitra
Agnimitra
Sujyeṣṭha or Vasujyeṣṭha
Vasumitra (Sumitra)
Andhraka (Bhadraka, Odraka, Ardraka, Antaka)
Pulindaka
Ghoṣa (or Ghoṣavasu)
Vajramitra
Bhāgavata or Bhaga
Devabhūmi or Devabhūti

The Kāṇva Dynasty[14]

Vāsudeva
Bhūmimitra
Nārāyaṇa
Suśarman

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[1] *DKA*, 30-31. [2] *PHAI*, 379. [3] *ACHI*, 99.
[4] *DV*, 433-34; *LBB*, 100-1. [5] *BHI*, 1. [6] *BCLCV*, I, 215.
[7] *ACHI*, 100. [8] *PHAI*, 394, fn 1. [9] Ibid., 395.
[10] Ibid., 395. [11] *HC*, VI, 193. [12] *PHAI*, 396.
[13] *EHNI*, 281; *AIU*, 706-7. [14] *EHNI*, 281; *AIU*, 707.

The Sātavāhanas

The Sātavāhanas, who rose into prominence in trans-Vindhyan India during the Post-Maurya period, occupied an important place in the political as well as in the religious history of India. They ruled for nearly three centuries. The Purāṇas describe them as Andhrabhṛtyas.

Simuka

Simuka was regarded as the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty. We learn from the Purāṇic records that Simuka who was also known as Siśuka, Śipraka, Sindhaka etc. overthrew Suśarman, the last ruler of the Kāṇva dynasty.[1] The latter seems to have ruled between 40 and 30 BC. Thus the Purāṇic records indicate that Simuka reigned in the third quarter of the first century BC. But, according to V.A. Smith and E.J. Rapson, Simuka ruled towards the close of the third century BC.[2] Although Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and other Purāṇic religions, flourished during his reign, but Buddhism and Jainism, which occupied an important place in the religious history of the Sātavāhana dynasty, prospered under his great patronage. He erected several Buddhist and Jaina temples.[3] Towards the later part of his life, he was greatly influenced by Buddhism and gave his full support to its progress.

Kaṇha

Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa) (*c.* 37-27 BC), who was the younger brother of Simuka, ascended the throne of the Sātavāhana dynasty after him. An inscription[4] discovered in Cave 19 at Nāsik in Bombay mentions his reign with the words "Sādavāhana-kule kane rājini" which indicates the extension of his empire as far as Nāsik in the west. This inscription also says "under king Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa) of the Sātavāhana family this cave has been caused to be made by the officer-in-charge

of *Śramaṇas* at Nāsik."[5] This inscription informs us that king Kaṇha had special officer for the *Śramaṇas* to look after their affairs which reminds us that Aśoka, the Maurya emperor, appointed Dharmamahāmātras, who were ministers for religious affairs. Thus the above inscription gives us a clear idea about the prosperity of Buddhism in the Sātavāhana kingdom during the rule of the king Kaṇha.

Sātakarṇi I

King Kaṇha was succeeded by Sātakarṇi I (*c.* 27-17 BC), who was a very powerful ruler of the Sātavāhana dynasty. From the Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravela we learn that the eastern boundaries of Sātakarṇi I's dominions were extended up to this western frontier of the kingdom of Khāravela in Kaliṅga.[6] He also extended his power over a large area of the upper Deccan as well as some portions of central and western India. He was a follower of Brahmanism. He performed two horse sacrifices (Aśvamedhas), one Rājasūya, and Agnyādheya, Anvārambhaṇīya, Gavāmayana, Aṅgirasāmayana[7] to show that Brahmanism flourished under his patronage and this indicates a sharp revival of the Vedic religion in the Deccan after a long spell of Buddhist ascendency.

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi

According to historians, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (*c.* AD 106-30) was the greatest of all the Sātavāhana kings.[8] He destroyed the Scythians, Indo-Greeks and Parthians. He extirpated the Khaharāta or Kahaharāta dynasty.[9] He extended his rule over Asika (district round Rishika-nagara on the Kṛṣṇā), Assaka (Asmaka on the Godāvarī), Mulaka (under Paithan on the Godāvarī), Suratha (Surashtra), Kukura (western Rajputana), Aparānta (northern Konkan), Anupa (the Narmadā valley), Vidarbha (Berar), Ākara (eastern Mālavā) and Av nti in western Mālavā. The Kṣatrapa provinces of Anarta, Śvabhra and Maru came under his rule.[10] He was regarded as the Lord of all the mountains from the Vindhyas to the Malaya or Travancore hills and from the eastern (Mahendra) to Western (Sahya) Ghats.

The inscription refers to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi as "Ekabamhana" "the Unique Brāhmaṇa". This shows that he was a follower of Brahmanism and made a significant contribution to the cause of Br hmanism. But there are inscriptions which inform us that the king, the queen and other members of the royal house gave their full support to the progress of Buddhism which became very prominent during his rule. An inscription[11] dated in the regnal year 24 of

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was discovered on the eastern wall of the Nāsik Cave, no. 3. It describes that king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Mahādevī Jīvasutā Rājamātā, the great queen, the king's mother, made a grant in the Gov rdhana district (Nāsik) for certain Buddhist monks who were cave-dwellers. Another inscription[12] dated in the regnal year 19 of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi found in a cave at Nāsik says that he constructed a cave on the top of Tiraṅhu mountain and Mahādevī Gotamī Balaśrī, the king's mother, offered it to the monks of the Bhaddayāniya or Bhadrayāniya sect. It shows the popularity of this sect which no doubt occupied a prominent place in the religious history of the kingdom of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi

Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi (*c.* AD 130-159) ascended the throne after his father Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. His inscription and several of his coins were found at Amarāvatī in the Deccan. This discovery suggests that he extended his empire up to the mouth of the Kṛṣṇā river.[13] His epigraphic and numismatic evidences indicate that the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī region as well as Mahārāṣṭra were under his rule. Baithan or Paithan or Pratiṣṭhāṇa on the Godāvarī river was his capital.

The reign of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi was an important period in the history of Buddhism. The king, the members of the royal house, nobles and the common people patronised it. An inscription of the reign of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi mentions that in the year 22 the king gave order to the governor of Goverdhana (Nāsik) to exchange the village of Sudasaṇa given in the nineteenth year for the village of Sāmalipāda for the embellishment of the queens's cave where the Bhadrayāniya monks dwelt. Another inscription of his reign says that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi built a cave on the top of the Tiraṅhu mountain and it was given to the members of the Bhadrayāniya sect by the great queen Gautamī Balaśrī. But from this inscription we learn that Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi gave the village Pisājipadaka on the south-west side of mountain Tiraṅhu to the cave.[14] This clearly indicates that king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi rendered valuable services to the cause of Buddhism. There are other inscriptions which show us the progress of Buddhism under the patronage of the people during the reign of V¯aśiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi. Several Buddhist sects like the Mahāsaṃghika, the Bhadrayāniya etc. flourished in his kingdom. An inscription discovered in a cave at Karle says that in the 24th regnal year of King Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi, the lay-worshipper Harpharana gave a nine-walled hall to the Universal *Saṃgha* as special property of the Mahāsaṃghikas.[15] Another inscription[16] at Karle describes that the Mahārathī Somadeva gave "a village with its

taxes ordinary and extraordinary with its income fixed" to the community of the *Bhikkhus* of Valūraka.

Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi

Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi was succeeded by Śiva Śrī Pulomā Sātakarṇi (AD 159-66).[17] The next ruler was Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi (AD 167-74).[18] After him Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi ascended the throne. He was the last great ruler of the Sātakarṇi dynasty.[19] His inscriptions were discovered at Nāsik in Mahārāṣtra, Kanheṛi in Aparānta (northern Konkan) and Chinna-Ganjam in the Kṛṣṇā district and his coins were unearthed in Gujarat, Kāṭhiāwar, Aparānta, the Chaṇḍa district of Madhya Pradesh and the Kṛṣṇā district of the Madras state. The discovery of his inscriptions and coins in these places leads us to form an idea that he brought Mahārāṣṭra, the Andhra country, Gujarat and some parts of the Narmada valley under his rule but at the same time he recovered Aparānta from the Śaka successors of Rudradāman I. His coins marked with the figure of a ship suggest that he even extended his power over the sea.[20] Bāṇa says that he was a close friend of a monk whose name was Nāgārjuna.

An inscription[21] found in a cave at Nāsik says that in the 7th year of the king, the Lord Śrīyajña Sātakarṇi, a cave was completed and was given as an abode of the Universal *Saṃgha* of monks. A stūpa pillar fragment bearing an inscription of the reign discovered at Chinna-Ganjam[22] throws light on the progress of Buddhism in his reign in this region. The king himself took keen interest in the affairs of Buddhism and gave his full support to its progress. His nephew also established two Buddha images. Acala, Gopāla, Vijayamitra, Bo, Dharmapāla, Aparnu, Sahalo were prominent monks, who were quite well-known for their great proficiency in Buddhist sacred texts and philosophy and they used to live in the cave at the sacred Kaṇha hill. All these facts inform us that Buddhism prospered in the kingdom of Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi.

GENEALOGY

The Sātavāhana Dynasty[23]

Simuka
Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa)
Sātakarṇi
Pūrṇotsaṅga
Skandhastambhu
Sātakarṇi
Lambodara

Āpilaka
Meghasvāti
Svāti
Skandasvāti
Mṛgendra Svātikarṇa
Kuntala Svātikarṇa
Svātikarṇa
Pulomāvi
Ariṣṭakarna
Hāla
Mantalaka or Pattalaka
Purikaṣeṇa or Purindraṣeṇa
Sundara Sātakarṇi
Chakora Sātakarṇi
Śivasvāti
Gautamaputra
Pulomā
Śivaśrī Pulomā
Śivaskandha Sātakarṇi
Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi
Vijaya
Chandaśrī Sātakarṇi
Pulomāvi

REFERENCES

[1] *DKA*, 71. [2] *PHAI*, 403. [3] *ACHI*, 301.
[4] *EI*, VIII, 93. [5] Ibid. [6] *AIU*, 198.
[7] *ACHI*, 302. [8] *AIU*, 200.
[9] Ibid., 201; *ACHI*, 312; *PHAI*, 491; *EI*, VIII, 60. [10] *ACHI*, 313.
[11] *EI*, VIII, 61. [12] Ibid., 60. [13] *AIU*, 204-5.
[14] *EI*, VIII, 60. [15] *BIA*, 99. [16] *EI*, VIII, 61.
[17] *PHAI*, 497. [18] Ibid. [19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid., 498. [21] *EI*, VIII, 94. [22] *ACHI*, 319.
[23] *AIU*, 707-8.

THE SUCCESSORS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

The Ikṣvākus

It is very probable that the Ikṣvākus were the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas. They towards the end of the first quarter of the third century AD conquered the regions round about the mouths of the rivers Kṛṣṇā and Godāvarī.[1] These Ikṣvākus of the Andhra country

had some connection with the Ikṣvākus of Ayodhyā, the capital of the Kosala Janapada in the north.

Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāṃtamūla I (Santamūla)

Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāṃtamūla I, who ruled in the second quarter of the third century AD, was regarded as the founder of the Ikṣvāku dynasty of the Andhra country.[2] The Purāṇas[3] mention the Ikṣvākus as Śrī-Pārvatiya Andhras. The city of Vijayapurī which was situated in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley was their capital. Cāṃtamūla I was a devout worshipper of Svāmi-Mahāsena, i.e., Skanda-Kārttikeya and was a follower of the Brahmanical faith.

Māṭharīputra Vīrapurīṣadata

Māṭharīputra Vīrapurīṣadata (Vīrapuruṣadatta) after his father Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāṃtamūla I ascended the throne of the Ikṣvāku dynasty in the third quarter of the third century AD.[4]

Buddhism occupied a prominent place in the religious history of southern India during the reign of Māṭharīputra Vīrapurīṣadata. He was a great patron of Buddhism and rendered valuable services to its cause. From an inscription of Vīrapurīṣadata[5] we learn that it refers to a claim of the king to belong to the same family as Lord Buddha which not only suggests his great faith in Buddhism but indicates him as an admirer of the Buddha. Several inscriptions belonging to his reign found at Jaggayyapeta in the Kṛṣṇā district and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in the Guntur district mention private donations of pious men and women to some Buddhist establishments at Jaggayyapeta and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. These inscriptions give us ample evidence to show that Buddhism flourished during the reign of Māṭharīputra Vīrapurīṣadata and his capital became a great centre of Buddhist activities. The Āyaka Pillar inscription C 3 of the reign of Śrī Vīrapurīṣadata[6] says that at the Mahācetiya Mahātālavarī Cāmtaśrī, who was the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Cāṃtamūla, erected this pillar in the sixth year of the reign of Śrī Vīrapurīṣadata. The Āyaka Pillar inscription C 2 of the reign of Śrī Vīrapurīṣadata[7] states that at the Mahācetiya, the Mahādevī Bapasirinikā who was the daughter of Hammasiriṇikā, the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsiṣṭhīputra Ikṣvāku Śrī Cāṃtamūla, erected this stone pillar for the benefit of the masters of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect. Most probably, the Aparamahāvinaseliya or the Aparamahāvanaśailya was the Aparaśaila which was a sub-sect of the Mahāsaṃghika sect.[8] The Āyaka Pillar inscription B 2 of Śrī Vīrapurīṣadata's reign records that the Mahātalavarī Adavichātisirī, who was the daughter of the Mahārāja Vāsiṣṭhīputra Ikṣvāku Śrī Cāṃtamūla, erected this pillar at the Mahācetiya of the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, who was absorbed by the best elements, i.e., by Nirvāṇa.[9] The Āyaka Pillar inscription B 4 of Śrī Vīrapurīṣadata's reign describes that at the Mahācetiya the Mahāsenāpatini Chulachātasiriṇik, for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and of Nirvāna, constructed this stone pillar in the sixth year of the reign of King Śrī Vīrapurīṣadata.[10] There are also several other inscriptions of the reign of Māṭharīputra Vīrapurīṣadata but they give us an account of the private donations made by pious men, women and some female members of the royal family in favour of the Buddhist establishments. The Second Apsidel Temple inscription F of the reign of Śrī Vīrapurīṣadata[11] is important for a study of the history of Buddhism. This inscription records that for the endless welfare and happiness of the assembly of saints and for that of the whole world a caitya-hall at the Kulaha Vihāra, a shrine for the Bodhi tree at the Sihala Vihāra, one cell at the Great Dhammagiri, a *maṇḍava* pillar at the Mahāvihāra, a hall for religious practice at the Devagiri, a tank, verandah and *maṇḍava* at Pūrvaśaila, a stone *maṇḍava* at the eastern gate of the great caitya at Kaṇṭakaśaila, three cells at Hiramuṭhuva, seven cells at Papilā, a stone *maṇḍava* at Puṣpagiri and a stone *maṇḍava* at the vihāra were dedicated.[12] From it we learn that Nāgārjunikoṇḍa at Śrī Parvata near Dhānyakaṭaka and its adjoining places in southern India became important Buddhist centres which were visited by many pilgrims from different places in India and outside and monks from these places used to travel to various places to propagate Buddhism. Many vihāras, stūpas and caityas were erected and renovated and most of the Ikṣvāku inscriptions found at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Jaggeyyapeta were incised with dedicatory records in the reign of Māṭharīputra Vīrapurīṣadata.

Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla II

Vāsiṣṭhīputra Bāhubala Cāṃtamūla or Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla II who was a son of Śrī Māṭharīputra Vīrapurīṣadata, ascended the throne in the last quarter of the third century AD. He ruled at least for eleven years. Buddhism continued to play an important role in the religious history of the country during his reign. Several inscriptions of his reign were found and they show us that Kṛṣṇā-Guntur region of the Andhra country became a centre of activities of various sects like Bahuśrutīya and Mahīśāsaka which flourished under the patronage of the members of the royal house. Bhaṭṭidevī, probably his mother, erected the Devī vihāra and his sister, Kaṇḍabiśrī, who was the Mahārāni of Vanavāsī, constructed one vihāra for the ascetics. The Āyaka Pillar inscriptions G 2 and G 3 of the reign of Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla II record that Mahādevī Bhaṭṭidevī erected a monastery

for the benefit of the masters belonging to the Bahuśrutīya sect.[13] The detached pillar inscription G of the reign of Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla II gives an account of donations in favour of the Bahuśrutīya sect.[14] These three inscriptions throw light on the popularity of the Bahuśrutīya sect in the history of Buddhism in the Andhra country during the reign of Cāṃtamūla II. Another inscription of the eleventh year of his reign says that his sister Kaṇḍabiśrī (Kodabalisarī) erected a pillar and a monastery for the benefit of the masters of the Mahīśāsaka sect.[15] The Mahīśāsaka was another sect which flourished during the reign of Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla II. The discovery of several inscriptions at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa gives us sufficient evidence to show that Nāgārjunikoṇḍa rose to its importance as a great centre of Buddhism during the rule of the Ikṣvāku kings who were great patrons of Buddhism, although from inscriptions we do not know anything about their direct role for its development.

Genealogy

The Ikṣvāku Dynasty
Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāṃtamūla I
Māṭharīputra Vīrapuriṣadata
Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla II or Bahubala Cāṃtamūla

References

[1]*ACHI*, 333; *AIU*, 224. [2]*ACHI*, 334; *AIU*, 224; *PHAI*, 500, fn 1.
[3]*ACHI*, 333; *AIU*, 224. [4]*ACHI*, 334; *AIU*, 225.
[5]*EI*, XX, 1929-30, 22; *SSLD*, 10. [6]*EI*, XX, 17.
[7]Ibid., XX, 16. [8]*BSI*, 54. [9]*EI*, XX, 1929-30, 18.
[10]Ibid., 18-19. [11]Ibid., XX, 23. [12]Ibid.
[13]Ibid., XXI, 62. [14]Ibid., XX, 23. [15]Ibid., XX, 24.

The Ānandas of Kaṇḍarapura

The Ānandas between the second half of the fourth and the first half of the fifth century AD reigned in the region around Guntur district. Kaṇḍara[1] (or Kanhdara or Kanhara or Kannara) was the founder of the Ānanda dynasty. Kaṇḍarapura,[2] which has been identified with Kantaru in the Guntur district by scholars, was his capital. The Gorantla inscription[3] of the reign of Attivarman discovered in the district of Guntur says that the Ānanda rulers were devout worshippers of Śiva, who was the family-god. Attivarman ascended the throne after Kaṇḍara. He was a powerful ruler and a devout worshipper of Śiva. Dāmodaravarman occupied the throne after him. The Mattepad plates of Dāmodaravarman found in the village of Mattepad in the Ongole taluk of the Guntur district mention him as "Mahārāja Śri-Dāmodaravarmano", "the glorious Mahārāja Dāmodaravarman." These plates also describe him as "*bhagavataḥ samyaksaṃbuddhasya pādānudhyāta*—he meditates on the feet of the Blessed Samyaksaṃbuddha." This indicates that he was a devotee of the Buddha.

Genealogy

The Ānanda Dynasty[4]
Kaṇḍara (Kanhadāra or Kanhara or Kannara)
Attivarman
Dāmodaravarman

References

[1]Kaṇḍara was a Prākṛta corruption of a Sanskrit name Kṛṣṇa: *SSLD*, 56; *ANHIP*, 71.
[2]*SSLD*, 56.
[3]*IA*, IX, 1880, 102-3.
[4]*SSLD*, 56; *EI*, XVII, 1923-24, 328; *CA*, 202.

The Bṛhatphalāyanas of Kudarāhāra or Kudūra

The Bṛhatphalāyanas brought the Masulipatam or the present taluk of the Kṛṣṇā district and the adjoining region under their control towards the close of the third century AD.[1] Pithuṇḍa or Pitundra was at first their capital and afterwards Kudūra (modern Gudura near Masulipatam) was their capital. From any epigraphical or archaeological source we do not know the names of his predecessors or successors who ruled before or after Jayavarman. From the Kondamudi plates of Jayavarman[2] discovered at Kondamudi in the Tenali taluk of the Kṛṣṇā district we learn that Jayavarman was a devotee of Maheśvara (Śiva). This gives us an idea that Śaivism occupied an important place in the religious history of the country during his reign. No record refers to the prevalence of Buddhism in the kingdom of the Bṛhatphalāyanas.

Genealogy

The Bṛhatphalāyanas
Jayavarman

References

[1]*SSLD*, 41; *ANHIP*, 68; *AIU*, 226.
[2]*EI*, VI, 1900-1901, 315-16.

The Śālaṅkāyanas of Veṅgī

The founder of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty of Veṅgīpura was Devavarman or Vijayavarman. According to scholars, Veṅgīpura or Veṅgī was Peddavegi and Chinnavegi near Ellore in the Godāvarī district in southern India.[1] The Śālaṅkāyanas ruled over west Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā districts with some of the adjoining areas.[2] The Ellore plates of the 13th regnal year of Devavarman[3] mention the king as a performer of the Aśvamedha sacrifice probably for his success against the Pallavas. Hastivarman ascended the throne after Devavarman. Śaivism flourished in the kingdom of the Śālaṅkāyanas, who were worshippers of Maheśvara or Śiva.

Genealogy

The Śālaṅkāyanas
Devavarman (or Vijayavarman)
Hastivarman

References

[1]*BRAHA*, 90-92. [2]*CA*, 206. [3]*SSLD*, p. 86 ff.

The Ābhīras

It is generally believed that the Ābhīras, who came to India from some part of eastern Iran, received their name from Abīravan which was located between Herat and Kandahar.[1] They then settled themselves in the north-western region of the Deccan and northern Konkan. It is known from epigraphical sources that they were royal officers of the Śaka Mahākṣatrapas of western India.

From epigraphical source we know only the name of Māṭharīputra Īśvarasena who was the son of Ābhīra Śivadatta (or Śivadata). He was the founder of the Ābhīra dynasty and flourished in the first half of the third century AD. His inscription was found in the Nāsik region which probably was a part of his kingdom. From the inscription we

learn that Buddhism flourished during the reign of Māṭharīputra Īśvarasena under the patronage of his people. It gives us clear idea that Buddhism was a popular religion in the Nāsik area during his reign and it no doubt occupied an important place in the religious world of the Deccan during the rule of the Ābhīra dynasty.

Genealogy

The Ābhīras
Ābhīra Śivadatta (Śivadata)
Māṭharīputra Īśvarasena

References

[1] *ACHI*, 331; *AIU*, 221; *JNSI*, VI, 84.

The Bodhis

The Bodhis became very prominent in the third century AD and ruled over some regions of north-western Deccan. From some coins we learn the name of a ruler whose name was Bodhi or Śrībodhi who may be regarded as the founder of the dynasty.[1] D.C. Sircar observes: "It is not improbable that the word (Bodhi) indicates the Bodhi tree and that the Bodhis were Buddhists in faith...."[2] Probably, Buddhism prosperped in the kingdom of the Bodhi rulers. Śivabodhi, Chandrabodhi and Vīrabodhi were other important rulers of the Bodhi dynasty.

Genealogy

The Bodhis
Bodhi or Śribodhi
Śivabodhi
Chandrabodhi
Vīrabodhi

References

[1]*ACHI*, 333; *AIU*, 223.
[2]*AIU*, 223-24.

The Vākāṭakas

The Vākāṭakas came into prominence in the middle of the sixth century AD and became very powerful in the history of ancient India. They occupied large areas of Madhya Pradesh and Berar and extended their influence to some regions of the Deccan. Vindhyaśakti was the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. He was a powerful ruler. The Ajantā inscription of Harisena[1] mentions him as a *dvija*

Genealogy

The Vākāṭaka Dynasty[2]

- Vindhyaśakti (twice-born)
  - Mahārāja Pravarasena I
    - Sarvasena
      - Vindhyaśakti II Dharma Mahārāja
        - Pravarasena II ?
          - son
            - Devasena
              - Harisena ? His minister Hastibhoja
    - Gautamīputra
      - Samudragupta
        - Mahārājadhirāja Chandragupta II
          - Prabhāvatī Agra-mahiṣī
            - Yuvarāja Divākarasena Nandivardhana Supratiṣṭahara
            - Dāmodara-sena Rāmagiri
            - Pravarasena II (or III)
              - Narendrasena
                - Prithivīsena II
          - Mahārāja Rudrasena II
- Bhavanāga
  - (daughter)
    - Mahārāja Rudrasena I
      - Mahārāja Prithivīsena I
        - Mahārāja Rudrasena II

(Brāhmaṇa). The Purānic account says that Mahārāja Pravarasena I or Pravira occupied the throne of the Vākāṭaka dynasty after his father Vindhyaśakti.[3] The former extended his empire from Bundelkhand in the north to the Hyderabad state in the south.[4] He was a follower of Brahmanism and performed the Aśvamedha, Agniṣṭoma, Āptoryāma, Bṛhaspatiśava etc. From the performance of the Vedic sacrifices we conclude that the Vākāṭakas were followers of Brahmanism. But no epigraphic record refers to the progress of Buddhism during the rule of the Vākāṭakas in the early period. But we know that some of the finest caves along with the paintings (at Ajantā) owe their origin to the munificence of the official and feudatories of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma (modern Basin, Akola district Berar).[5] It is to be noted here that some of the magnificent caves at Ajantā with monastic establishments were hewn and built under the patronage of the later Vākāṭaka rulers and some of their ministers and feudatories.

References

[1] *AIU*, 124. [2] *PHAI*, 565. [3] *AHD*, 72.
[4] *AIU*, 220. [5] *AJ*, 4.

Chapter 5

Buddhism During the Rule of the Indo-Greeks and the Indo-Scythians

THE INDO-GREEKS

The arrival of the Yavanas or the Greek invaders through the north-western gate of India was an important event in the history of ancient India. The withdrawal of the strong arm of the great emperor Aśoka led to the collapse of the Maurya supremacy over Gandhāra and the adjoining provinces in north-western India. As a result, the Greeks, who then ruled over Syria and Bactria, invaded India and established their settlements in the north-western India which came to be known as the Indo-Greek or Indo-Bactrian kingdoms. After the loss of Bactria, central and southern Afghanistan and north-western India were under the control of the Greeks. It is known from Numismatic source that about thirty Indo-Greek kings ruled over Afghanistan and north-western India. Of them Menander was regarded as the greatest and the most powerful ruler. He extended his kingdom from the Kabul valley in the west to the Rāvī in the east and from the Swat valley in the north to northern Arachosia in the south.[1]

Menander

Menander, the most famous of all the Greek kings of India, occupied an important place in the religious history of ancient India. He rendered valuable services to the cause of Buddhism. He has been identified with the Buddhist king Milinda of the *Milindapañha* "Questions of Milinda", a Pāli work, which was written in the form of a dialogue between Milinda, the Greek king of Sākala (Sialkot in the Punjab) and Nāgasena, a Buddhist monk, belonged to the first century BC. The king was extremely happy after his conversation with the latter.[2] The former then took keen interest in Buddhism. In course of time he became a devout Buddhist. After some time he handed over his kingdom to his son and became a Buddhist monk. He also attained *arhat*-ship.[3] From the *Milindapañha* we learn that he

was born at Kalaśi in the island of Alasanda (Alexandria) and his capital was Sāgala or Sākala (modern Sialkot) in the Punjab.[4]

Menander's regnal years have not yet been settled with certainty. But according to scholars, he ruled in the first century BC. Menander was a great patron of Buddhism. He built a monastery named Milinda[5] and offered it to Nāgasena. The Shinkot steatite casket inscription[6] gives us an account of the patronage of Buddhism by the people during the reign of king Menander. It says: "the establishment of the relic of the Buddha by one Vijayamitra during the reign of king Menander on the fourteenth day of the month of Kartikaya."[7]

There is a controversy relating to Menander's conversion to Buddhism. W.W. Tarn[8] says, "the idea that Menander ever became a Buddhist in the sense of entering the order (*Saṃgha*) may be dismissed at once." He rejects the story of Milinda as trustworthy evidence regarding Menander, the Milinda of Buddhist tradition. He even says that it is difficult to accept Menander as Buddhist on the ground that on his coins he adopted Athena, the one Greek deity who was practically never equated with anything oriental.[9] But it would be reasonable to conclude that Menander accepted Buddhism as his religion and became its devout follower. But he adopted the figures of one deity of his former religion on his coins because of his religious sentiment. Some coins with the figure of the "Wheel" which was very common on Buddhist sculpture were found in several places of India.[10] S. Chattopadhyaya rejects W.W. Tarn. He observes: "such strong traditions can not be set aside lightly, and in our view it is quite safe to hold that Menander had embraced Buddhism and did much for it."[11] According to some scholars, Menander, who was a later contemporary of Puṣyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty, accepted Buddhism as his religion because of political reason. Some coins have been found with Menander's title 'soter', 'the Saviour'.[12] W.W. Tarn says that it makes no mention of the Buddhist Dharma. Although it is generally believed that he saved the Buddhists from Puṣyamitra's humiliation and torture and it is for this reason he received the title 'the Saviour' of Buddhism,[13] but there is no evidence to prove it. But it is difficult to accept it because of the chronological position of the two rulers. Menander played a vital role in the history of Buddhism and made a valuable contribution to the Buddhist world. It is very probable for this reason he earned the title the 'Saviour'. According to Plutarch,[14] the Greek historian, "when Menander died the cities celebrated his funeral as usual in other respects, but in respect to his remains they put forth rival claims and only with difficulty came to terms, agreeing that they should divide the ashes equally and go away, and should erect monuments dedi-

cated to him in all their cities." It reminds us of the story of the distribution of Buddha's relics after his Mahāparinibbāna. It indicates that Menander was a renowned ruler and his people honoured him after his death.

After the death of Menander, his successors lost Afghanistan and Gandhāra.[15] Agathocleia and Strato I ruled over the eastern Punjab.[16] Towards the end of the first century BC the Śakyas of east Iran captured several parts of western India. One branch of the Eucratidian house ruled over Gandhāra and Afghanistan. Kafiristan and Kabul came under the control of Amyutas and Hermaeus, who belonged to its another branch. Hermaeus, the last Greek king of the Kabul valley, reigned in the first half of the first century AD.

Buddhism flourished in the kingdom of the Indo-Greek rulers. The inscription of Theodorus was discovered in Swat.[17] It refers to the restoration of some relics of the Buddha for the purpose of the security of many people. Another inscription says that "by Theidora or Theodorus the Datiaputra, (this) tank was caused to be made in honour of all beings in the 113 year on the 20th day of Śrāvaṇa."[18] There is no reference to Buddhism in it, but from the dedication to a tank 'in honour of all beings' which sounds like a Buddhist idea, we presume that Thaidore, who donated this tank, was a follower of Buddhism no doubt. The inscription no. 10 mentions "(gift) of Dhamma, a Yavana from Dhenukākaṭā."[19] E. Senart says that the donor was a Buddhist Yavana.[20] The inscription no. 7 discovered at Karle[21] says, "(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Sihadhaya from Dhenukākaṭā." The inscription no. 4 found at Karle[22] describes: "this pillar is the gift of the Yavana Dhammadhaya from Dhenukākaṭā." From these inscriptions we learn that all donors belonged to Dhenukākaṭā which has not yet been identified. But it was a great centre of Buddhist activities. The inscription no. 8 of Junnar in the Poona (Pune) district says that a Yavana built a dining-hall at Junna for the Buddhist *Saṃgha.*[23] All these epigrahpic records throw light on the development of Buddhism under the patronage of the Yavana or the Greek people.

The Śakas

The Śakas, who were forced to leave their origin home in central Asia by the Yueh-chi tribe, founded various settlements in different regions of ancient India and extended their power and influence to the northern and north-western parts of India at the expense of the Indo-Greek rulers. From historical records we learn that north-west India was ruled by king Mauesmoga and his successors Azes, Azilises and Azes II.

Maues

Maues was the earliest independent Scythian or Śaka king. He extended his power to Taxila, the Hazara district and large parts of north-western India. Several scholars[24] identify Maues with Mahārāja Moga of the Taxila copper-plate inscription of the year 78 possibly of the Śaka era.[25] Maues most probably ruled between 20 BC and AD 22.[26]

The Taxila copper-plate inscription of Patika is important for a study of Buddhism in the kingdom of Maues. It refers to the deposition of a relic of Śākyamuni (the Buddha) and the construction of a Saṅghārāma or monastery at Channa (Kṣema) to the north-east of Taxila, which, according to A. Cunningham, was the modern Sirsukh.[27] There are some coins of Maues which bear figures of some of the deities which, according to scholars, are non-Greek in character. Among (them) can be recognised one or two Indian deities, such as Śiva undoubtedly, and Buddha possibly.[28] Thus the Taxila copper-plate and some coins of Maues give us sufficient evidence to show that Buddhism flourished in the Taxila-Gandhāra region during the reign of Maues.

Azes I (or Aya) (*c.* 5 BC-AD 30) ascended the throne after Maues. Azilises (Ayiliṣa) (*c.* AD 21-40) succeeded him. Azes (Aya or Aja) II (*c.* AD 35-79) occupied the throne after Azilises.[29] The Kalawan copper-plate inscription of the year 134 discovered at Kalawan near ancient Takṣaśilā (Taxila) informs us that Buddhism was practised and patronised by the people during the reign of Ajasa (Azea). The inscription describes: "In the year 134 of Ajasa, on the 23rd day of the month Śrāvaṇa, at this term the female worshipper (*upāsikā*) Candrabhi ... establishes relics in Chadasila, in the chapel—stūpa ... in acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin, ... having venerated the country town, for the veneration of all beings; may it be for the obtainment of Nirvāṇa."[30] The Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136 found in one of the chambers to the west of the Dharmarājika stūpa of the Chir Mound in Taxila gives us another account of the development of Buddhism during the reign of Aya-Aja or Azes. The records: "Anno 136 of Aya, on the 15th day of the first month Aṣāḍha, on this day were established relics of the Lord by Urasaka.... By him these relics of the Lord were established in his own Bodhisattva chapel, in the Dharmarājika compound of Takṣaśilā, for the bestowal of health on the Great king ... in honour of all Buddhas, in honour of the Pratyekabuddhas, in honour of the *arhats,* in honour of all beings ... may this they right munificence lead to Nirvāṇa."[31]

GENEALOGY

The Śaka Emperors[32]

Maues
Azes (Aya)
Azilises (Ayiliṣa)
Azes II (Aya or Aja)

REFERENCES

[1]*IG*, 97. [2]*MDP*, II, 304. [3]Ibid., 305.
[4]Ibid., 114-15. [5]Ibid., 305. [6]*SI*, 102 ff.
[7]Ibid., 103-4; *NIA*, II, 1939-40, 647; *EI*, XXIV, 1937-38, 7.
[8]*GBI*, 268. [9]Ibid., 268-69; *IG*, 98. [10]*TL*
[11]*EHNI*, 41. [12]*IG*, 99; *GBI*, 173, 262. [13]*IG*, 99; *GBI*, 175.
[14]*PT*, 321. [15]*AIU*, 117. [16]Ibid., 117.
[17]*CII*, II, 1.65. [18]Ibid., II, 1.66. [19]*EI*, VII, 1902-03, 55.
[20]Ibid., 56. [21]Ibid., 53. [22]Ibid., XVIII, 326.
[23]*GBI*, 255; *ACHI*, 365. [24]*PHAI*, 438, *ACHI*, 195; *AIU*, 214 ff; *EHNI*, 57.
[25]*PHAI*, 438-39: The Śaka era of 58 BC. [26]*EHNI*, 57.
[27]*EI*, IV, 1896-97, 55; *ACHI*, 199. [28]*EHNI*, 57.
[29]Ibid., 59. [30]*EI*, XXI, 1931-32, 259. [31]*CII*, II, 1.77.
[32]*ENHI*, 280; *AIU*, 708.

THE ŚAKA SATRAPS

From the inscription and coins we learn that there were several Satrap[1] rulers who ruled over different parts of the country. One of these Satrapal families ruled in Kapisa near the junction of the Ghorband and Panjshir rivers in Afghanistan, another near Taxila in the western Punjab, a third at Mathurā in the Jumnā valley, a fourth in the Upper Deccan and a fifth at Ujjain in Mālwā.[2]

Liaka Kusulaka[3] was a Satrap of the Kṣaharāta family. It is very probable that he ruled over Chukṣa which has been identified by Sten Konow with the present Chach in the north of the district of Attock. The Taxila copper-plate inscription of the year 78 mentions the Satrapa Liaka Kusulaka and his son Mahādānapati Patika. It describes that "... to the north of the town of Takṣaśilā, ... in this place Patika establishes a (formerly) not established relic of divine Sakamuni (Śākyamuni) and a monastery for the worship of all Buddhas ..."[4] The inscription informs us that Buddhism prospered during the rule of the Satraps of Taxila.

The Satraps of Mathurā were at first subordinate rulers. But afterwards they declared their independence and became known as Mahākṣatrapas.[5] Hagāna and Hagāmaṣa were the earliest rulers of Mathurā. The next ruler was Rājuvula.[6]

It is clear from epigraphic evidence that Buddhism prospered in Mathurā during the rule of Rājuvula (or Rājula). The Mathurā lion-capital inscriptions throw light on the flourishing condition of Buddhism under the patronage of noble ladies of royal families during the rule of Rājuvula. The inscriptions describe: "By the chief queen of the Great Satrap Rajula ... together with her mother Abuholā, her paternal grandmother Pispasi, ... her daughter Haha, her household and court of *horakas* (ladies), a relic was deposited in this piece of land in a stūpa with the thought: 'may it be for the eternal ... of the Holy Śākya sage Buddha.' And the stūpa and the monastery are the acceptance of the universal *Saṃgha* of the Sarvāstivādins."[7] In the reign of Kṣatrapa Śodāsa Buddhism flourished. From an inscription we learn that in his reign Udaya, a disciple of Ācārya Buddhadeva along with princes Khalamasa and Maja, made the gift of cave-dwelling to Buddhism of Nagaraka for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivāda monks.[8] Another inscription[9] of his reign mentions the gift of some lands to Ācārya Buddhila of Nagaraka who disproved the arguments of the Mahāsaṃghikas. These inscriptions give a clear picture of the flourishing condition of Buddhism in Mathurā under the patronage of the early Śaka rulers.

THE PARTHIANS

The Parthians, who captured Taxila and several other parts of north-western frontier province, brought the end of the Śaka rule. In AD 43-44 Phraotes, the Parthian ruler, was on the throne of Taxila.[10] W.W. Tarn thinks that Phraotes was Gondophernes because the word 'Phraotes' was a Greek corruption of the word 'apratihata' which Gondophernes had used as a title on his coins.[11] Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw says that Phraotes and Gondophernes were two different persons.[12] The so-called Takht-i-Bahi inscription of the year 103 (of an unspecified era) mentions King Giduvhara or Gondophernes and it is dated in his 26th regnal year.[13] According to J.F. Fleet, it was recorded in AD 47.[14] It is generally believed that Gondophernes captured the throne of Taxila in AD 19-21 after the death of Phraotes and he was reigning monarch in AD 45-47. He brought Sistan, Sind, (probably with Cutch and Kaṭhiāwar), the southern and western Punjab, the north-west frontier province and the southern Afghanistan under his rule. After the death of Gondophernes, the Parthian empire was divided into several principalities and each had its own

independent ruler. Before the middle of the first century AD the Kuṣāṇas not only destroyed the Parthian power but also wiped out their rule from the Gandhāra region. No record refers to the religion practised by the Parthian rulers and their people in their kingdom during the rule.

REFERENCES

[1]The word Satrap generally means a provincial governor or protector of the kingdom. It is derived from Sanskrit *kṣatrapa* and *Prākṛta chatrava, chatrapa*. In old Persian it is used as *kṣathrapavan*—*AIU*, 132; *PHAI*, 443.

[2]*PHAI*, 443; *AAHI*, 118-19.

[3]*PHAI*, 444; *AIU*, 133; *EHNI*, 61; *CII*, II, 1.25-26. [4]*EI*, IV, 1896-97, 55.

[5]*EHNI*, 61; *AIU*, 135. [6]Ibid., 62; *PHAI*, 445; *AIU*, 134.

[7]*EI*, IX, 141. [8]*BSI*, 141-42. [9]Ibid., 141-42.

[10]*PHAI*, 445; *EHNI*, 63. [11]*GBI*, 341.

[12]*SPIH*, 353. [13]*CII*, II, I.62.

[14]*PHAI*, 452; *JRASGBI*, 1905, 223-35; 1906, 706-711; 1913, II, 999-1003.

THE GREAT KUṢĀṆAS

Kujula Kadphises

The Kuṣāṇas belonged to the great Yueh-chi (or Yueachi) race of north-west China.[1] They then left their ancestral home and settled at Ta-hia (Bactria) and founded a kingdom. The Yueh-chi kingdom was then divided into five principalities: Hieou-mi (Wakhan), Chou-ang-mi or Shuang-mi (Chitral), Kuei-shuang or Kouei-Chouang (the Kuṣāṇa principality between the Chitral and the Panjshir), Hi-thoun or Hi-tun (Parwan) and Tou-mi or Kao-fu (Kabul). Kujula Kadphises was the powerful leader of the Kuei-shuang. He united the other four principalities and brought them under his control and became the sole monarch of the Yueh-chi nation. This thing happened nearly a hundred years after the division of the five principalities. Kujula Kadphises may be regarded as the founder of the Kuṣāṇa kingdom and he brought the political unification of Ta-hia, attacked and defeated the country of A-si or An-si or Ngan-si (Parthians), conquered Kao-fu (Kabul) and occupied Po-ta (the country of Butkhak, situated about ten miles east of Kabul) and Ki-pin (Kafiristan and its neighbouring region).[2] Thus he extended his empire from the frontiers of Persia to the Indus. He may have reigned between AD 15 and 65.

His copper coins with the legends discovered in many places give us sufficient evidence to show that Buddhism obtained a firm footing

in the religious world during the reign of Kujula Kadphises. The Kharoṣṭhī legends on the reverse of some coins describe: "*Kuṣāṇasa Yanasa Kujula Kaphasa sacha-dhramathidasa*"[3], "(coin) of Kujula Kaphasa, chief or king of the Kuṣāṇas, steadfast in faith" and "*Kujula Kasasa Kuṣāṇa Yav(u)gasa dharmathidasa*"[4], "(coin) of Kujula-Kasa, chief or king of the Kuṣāṇas, steadfast in faith." These short epigraphs on the coins inform us that Kujula Kadphises I embraced the religion of the Buddha. Because the new epithets '*dharmaṭhida*' and '*sachadharmaṭhida*' may indicate his acceptance of Buddhism as his personal religion. Śaivism also flourished during the reign of Kujula Kadphises because the figure of bull and the monogram of Nandipāda were found on his coins.[5]

Wema Kadphises

After the death of Kujula Kadphises, his son Wima Wema Kadphises or Kadphises II ascended the thorne (AD 65-75).[6] He extended his empire up to Vārāṇasī. He was a worshipper of Śiva.

Kaniṣka

Kaniṣka was the successor of Kadphises II. He was regarded as the greatest of the Kuṣāṇa rulers. His empire extended from Bihar in the east to Khorasan in the west and from Khotan in the north to Konkan in the south.[7] His capital was Puruṣapura (modern Peshawar). He ruled from AD 78 to AD 101 or 102. Although there is a controversy regarding the date of Kaniṣka's regnal years, but it has been accepted by scholars that he ruled from AD 78 to 101 or 102.

Kaniṣka was a great patron of Buddhism. He brought the great Buddhist philosopher Aśvaghoṣa, the Buddha's wooden bowl and a miraculous cock from Pāṭaliputta to Puruṣapura.[8] He then accepted Buddhism as his religion under the influence of Aśvaghoṣa, who made a great change in the former's life. The *Sūtrālaṃkāra* of Aśvaghoṣa[9] gives an account of Kaniṣka's faith in Buddhism. It says: "the king's heart was pleased only with the religion of the Buddha, then he made it his necklace." This indicates that he accepted Buddhism as his religion and became its devout follower. He then built a stūpa and a monastery at Puruṣapura for the development and popularity of Buddhism. Fa-hien, the Chinese pilgrim, mentions Kaniṣka's stūpa as the finest tope in Jambudvīpa.[10] Sung-yun, another Chinese traveller, who visited India in AD 518 refers to Kaniṣka's stūpa.[11] Hiuen-tsang visited India in AD 630 and he mentions both the Kaniṣka stūpa as Kaniṣka vihāra in his account.[12] Alberuni also in his record refers to Kaniṣka vihāra (Kanik vihāra) and the Kaniṣka caitya (Kanik caitya) (stūpa).[13] The discovery of relics with a series of three

seated Buddha figures, attendant worshippers and the figure of Kaniṣka himself with Kharoṣṭhī inscription in Peshawar has proved that Kaniṣka built a stūpa on the relics of the Buddha there. The inscription says, "In the year I of (the Mahārāja), Kaniṣka, in the town, Ima, connected with the ... mansion, this religious gift ... may it be for the welfare and happiness of all beings ... the slave Agiśala was the architect ... in Kaniṣka's vihāra, in Mahāsena's Saṅghārāma, in the acceptance of the Sarvāstivāda teacher."[14] Here "the term Kaniṣka's vihāra may refer to the entire complex of stūpa, votive chapel, monastery and other structures such as the refectory ..."[15] In a Śaka-Khotanese legend Kaniṣka's vihāra is mentioned as Saṅghārāma.[16] The inscription indicates the popularity of the Sarvāstivāda sect in the kingdom of Kaniṣka I.

Kaniṣka occupied an important place in the history of Buddhism for his close association with the Fourth Buddhist Council. From several Buddhist texts we learn that Kaniṣka after his conversion to Buddhism became very much devoted to it. Every day a Buddhist monk gave him instructions and advice in sacred texts which he used to study with great devotion. But the varying opinions and the conflicting doctrine of different sects in religious matters made him unhappy. In order to establish Buddhism at the zenith of its glory he determined to reconcile the various opinions of these sects and to settle the *Vinaya, Sūtra* and *Abhidharma* texts. He then convoked a council at the Kundalavana vihāra in Kashmir at the request of Pārśva or Pārśvika, the Buddhist philosopher. About five hundred Buddhist monks, who were well-versed in the *Tipiṭaka* attended this council. Vasumitra, the great Buddhist philosopher, was the president of the council and Aśvaghoṣa acted as the vice-president. During the session of the council 1,00,000 stanzas of *Upadeśaśāstra* explanatory of the canonical Sūtras, 1,00,000 stanzas of *Vinaya-Vibhāṣāśāstras*, explanatory of the *Vinaya* and 1,00,000 stanzas of *Abhidharma-Vibhāṣāśāstras* explanatory of the *Abhidharma* were composed during the session of the council.[17] The monks who took part in the council brought the conflicting interpretation of the eighteen schools, settled their disagreements, recognised them as orthodox and examined carefully the *Tipiṭaka* which was reduced to writing.[18] It is to be noted here that in this council Sanskrit as the medium of expression for the Buddhist religion was used for the first time.[19] Hiuen-tsang[20] says that Kaniṣka came to Kashmir to attend the council and for the accommodation of the Buddhist monks he built a Buddhist monastery there. He gave order that all the treatises discussed in the council be engraved on copper-plates which were to be kept in stone-boxes. For this purpose he erected a stūpa. He also gave the kingdom of Kashmir as gifts to the Buddhist *Saṃgha*.[21] Paramārtha (AD 499-569) in his life of Vasubandhu refers to this council which was held five hundred years after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha.[22] The council throws light on the popularity of the Sarvāstivāda sect.

The reign of Kaniṣka was an important period for Buddhism. From the discovery of the Buddha images, coins and inscriptions we learn that king, nobles and common people showed their keen interest in Buddhism. Kaniṣka's coins show that Kaniṣka performing a sacrifice over an altar on the obverse and the name of '*Boddo*' (Buddha)[23] or '*Sakaumo Boddo*' (Śākyamuni Buddha) on the reverse. The discovery of the images of the Buddha at Hotimardan and Mathurā, the dedication of stone-image of Bodhisattva by Bhikṣu Bala at Sārnāth, a caitya (cetiya) slab showing a stūpa at Amarāvatī of the second century AD[24] give us sufficient evidence to show the prosperity of Buddhism during Kaniṣka's rule. From the epigraphic records also we learn the flourishing condition of Buddhism during the reign of Kaniṣka. The Kosam inscription of Kaniṣka dated in the year 2 refers to the erection of a statue of Bodhisattva by a Buddhist nun named Bodhimitra.[25] The Sui vihāra copper-plate inscription in Kharoṣṭhī of the reign of Kaniṣka says the female lay devotee Balanandi and Balajaya her mother gave a shrine for the staff and the customary accessories.[26] The Zeda 2nd inscription in Kharoṣṭhī of the reign of Kaniṣka[27] gives an account of the importance of the Sarvāstivāda sect during the reign of Kaniṣka. The Manīkiala (in the Rawalpindi district, west Punjab) inscription of the regnal year 18 of Kaniṣka refers to the establishment of several relics of the Buddha.[28] Another inscription of the year 23 of the reign of Kaniṣka says that Puṣya(datta), the daugher of Mahārāja Matsyagupta established Bodhisattva image in her monastery.[29] The Set Mahet Buddhist image inscription states that an image of Bodhisattva, an umbrella and a stick were set up at Śrāvastī by the Buddhist monk Bala.[30]

Kaniṣka patronised Buddhist scholars and inspired them for their literary activities. It was for this reason his reign is renowned as an age of numerous scholars of high repute. Pārśva, Vasumitra, Aśvaghoṣa, Saṅgharakṣa, Dharmatrāta, Ghoṣaka and Buddhadeva, who were men of great wisdom lived during his reign. His reign was also important for the Gandhāra and the Mathurā schools of Buddhist art which produced fine specimens of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva images. These schools of art became very prominent under the patronage of Kaniṣka and his successors.

Vāśiṣka

After the death of Kaniṣka, Vāśiṣka, who was his son ascended the

throne of the Kuṣāṇa empire (24-28, AD 102-6). From the epigraphic and literary records we learn that Sāñcī, Kashmir, Mathurā and its surrounding regions were under his control. The Isapur (a village near Mathurā) Yūpa inscription of the year 24 mentions him as Mahārāja Devaputra Shāhi Vāśiṣka.[31] The Sāñcī Buddhist statue inscription of the year 28 describes him as Vāsuṣka.[32] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[33] refers to him as Juṣka.

Vāśiṣka partonised Buddhism. He built a monastery at Juṣkapura.[34] The Sāñcī inscription of Vaskuṣana (Vāśiṣka) of the year 22 gives an account of the installation of an image of the Buddha by one Vidyāmati.[35] The Sāñcī Brāhmī inscription[36] describes that one Madhurikā in the year 28 in the reign of the Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Shāhi Vāsaṣka' (Vāśiṣka) constructed a shrine and established a Buddha image in the Dharmadeva monastery.

Huviṣka

Huviṣka ascended the throne in the year 28 i.e., AD 106 after Vāśiṣka. His inscriptions refer to him as Huvaṣka, Huvekṣa, Huvakṣa and Hukṣa.[37] From the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we learn that he reigned simultaneously with Juṣka (Vajheṣka) and Kaniṣka (i.e., Kaniṣka II or Kaniṣka of the Ārā inscription of the year 41).[38] He ruled over an extensive empire.

Huviṣka was a great patron of Buddhism. An inscription found near Mathurā says that in the year 23 of the Mahārāja, Devaputra Huviṣka, Dhamavatī, a Buddhist nun, established an image of Bodhisattva.[39] Another inscription found at Mathurā states that in the year 39 of Mahārāja Devaputra Huviṣka, the Buddhist nuns Pusahathini and Buddhadeva dedicated an image of Bodhisattva.[40] The Brāhmī inscription found near Mathurā describes that in the year 51 an image of Śākyamuni was set up by the monk Suddhavarman.[41] The Wardak Vase inscription found in the topes of Khawat in the district of Wardak in Afghanistan says that in the year 51 Kamagulya, son of Vagramarega established the relic of the Lord Śākyamuni in a stūpa of the Vagramarega vihāra which belonged to the Mahāsaṃghika school.[42] Thus the above inscriptions give us sufficient evidence to show that Buddhism occupied an important place in the Kuṣāṇa empire during the rule of Huviṣka.

Kaniṣka II

Kaniṣka II who was a son of Vāśiṣka and a grandson of Kaniṣka I, ruled conjointly with Huviṣka and Vāśiṣka.[43] He took the title of Kaisara (Caesar) in addition to the titles of Mahārāja, Rājātirāja and Devaputra.

Vāsudeva

Vāsudeva occupied the throne of the Kuṣāṇa empire in *c.* AD 145 and continued it up to AD 176 (67-98). He was regarded as the last notable Kuṣāṇa ruler. Numismatic evidence proves that Vāsudeva was a follower of Śaivism. From the discovery of a stone image of the Buddha with five fragmentary lines inscribed on the base of the image near Mathurā, we learn that Buddhism also flourished during this period.[44] The inscription records: "In the year 64 or 67, the second month of the rainy season, some day of Vāsudeva ... for the acceptance of the teachers of the Mahāsaṃghika community and also for the adoration of all the Buddhas ... an image of the Śākyamuni (Buddha) together with a shrine for it. The image of the Buddha was installed by Guhasena ..."[45]

Genealogy

The Kuṣāṇas[46]

Kujula Kadphises
Wema Kadphises
Kaniṣka I
Vāśiṣka
Huviṣka
Kaniṣka II
Vāsudeva
Kaniṣka III
Vāsudeva II

References

[1] *PHAI*, 458-59; *AIU*, 136-37.
[2] *PHAI*, 460; *AIU*, 137.
[3] *CGSKBI*, 123, pl. XXV, 5; *CCIM*, 66; *CI*, pl. IV, 2; *NIA*, I, 269-70.
[4] *CGSKBI*, 120, pl. XXV; *CCIM*, 33; *CI*, pl. IV, 2.
[5] *CCIM*, 67.
[6] *PHAI*, 463.
[7] *AIU*, 141.
[8] Nanjio, 1340, ch. 5; *IA*, XXXII, 1903, 387-88; *JAT*, July-December, 1976; *EK*, 77-78.
[9] *EK*, 296.
[10] Legge.
[11] *TFS*, 202-3; *EK*, 91-92.
[12] Watters, I, 203-11.
[13] *AI*, II.
[14] *CII*, II, I. 135 ff.
[15] *SVK*, 33.
[16] *JRASGBI*, 1942, 19.
[17] *EK*, 102-3; *BIA*, 65.
[18] *TGBI*, 38; *EHI*, 283-84.
[19] Bapat, 49; *EK*, 108.
[20] Watters, 270-72.
[21] Watters, 270-71; Hwui Li, 71-72.
[22] *GM*, I, 21; *EHI*, 284, fn 1; *LVB*, II, V. 276-81; *JRASGBI*, 1905, 52.
[23] *WB*, 311.
[24] Ibid., 311.
[25] *CR*, July, 1934, 83; *PHAI*, 473, fn 6; *EBR*, 133; *EI*, XXIV, 1937-3, 210-12.
[26] *IA*, X, 1881, 326.
[27] *EI*, XIX, 1927-28, 15.
[28] *CII*, II, I. 149-50.

[29]*EI*, XXVIII, 1949-50, 44. [30]Ibid., VIII, 1905-6, 181.
[31]Ibid., II, 369. [32]Ibid., II, 369-70. [33]*HTG*, IV, 168, 30.
[34]Ibid., IV, 12, 30, 169. [35]*ALHI*, 242.
[36]Ibid., 243, *EI*, II, 369-70.
[37]*JBBRAS*, 1902, pp. 269 ff; *EI*, II, 18, 206; X, 1909-10, 112-14; *NJIM*, I, 1892, 386.
[38]*RTGS*, I, vv. 168-73; *PHAI*, 476-77. [39]*EI*, VIII, 1905-6, 181-82.
[40]*ARASI*, II, 1922-23, 168-69. [41]*EI*, X, 1909-10, 112-13.
[42]Ibid., XX, 1911-12, 210-13.
[43]Ibid., XIV, 1917-18, 130 ff; *CII*, I, II, LXXX and 163.
[44]*EI*, XXX, 1953-54, 482-83
[45]Ibid., 182-83. [46]*AIU*, 708.

The Śaka Satraps of Western India and the Deccan

The Kṣaharātas

The Kṣaharātas, who possibly belonged to the Śaka group, ruled over western India and the Deccan. They also captured parts of Mahārāṣṭra from the Sātavāhanas. H. C. Raychaudhuri says, "Kṣaharāta seems to be identical with 'Karatai', the designation of a famous Śaka tribe of the north mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy."[1] Liaka, Patika, Ghaṭāka, Bhumaka and Nahapāna belonged to the Kṣaharāta or Chaharāta family.[2] The first three members ruled over Taxila and Mathurā regions and Bhūmaka, who preceded Nahapāna, was a Kṣatrapa or Satrap of Kāṭhiāwār. Kṣaharāta Bhūmaka ruled over the south-western part of the empire of Kaniṣka's house. He occupied the throne between AD 50 and 60.[3] Nothing is known about the religious conditions of the country during his reign.

Nahapāna

Nahapāna, who was regarded as the greatest of the Kṣaharāta Satraps, ascended the throne after Bhūmaka. His coins and inscriptions refer to him as Kṣahatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa. Nahapāna possibly reigned between AD 119 and 124.[4] His coins were found in the Ajmer and Nāsik regions which signify the extension of his power over these areas.

Buddhism flourished in western Deccan during the rule of Nahapāna. Several inscriptions of his reign were found. These documents throw flood of light on the development of Buddhism in the kingdom of Nahapāna under the patronage of the members of the royal house. They inform us that Nahapāna's daughter Dakhamitā, his son-in-law Uṣavadāta and his grandson Mitadevanaka became followers of Buddhism and made endowments for the prosperity of Buddhism. An inscription found in a cave at Nāsik records: "In the year 42 ... Uṣavadāta son-in-law of King Nahapāna, ... has bestowed

this cave on the *Saṃgha* generally; he also has given a perpetual endowment, three thousand—3000— Kāhāpanas which for the members of the *Saṃgha* of any sect and any origin dwelling in this cave ... 2000 in a weavers' guild— (and) 1,000 in another weavers' guild—out of them the two thousand—2000—are the cloth money; out of them to every one of the twenty monks who keep the vassa in my cave, a cloth money of twelve (Kāhapaṇas). ... And at the village of Cikhalapadra in the Kāpura district have been given eight thousand—8000— stems of coconut trees,...." The second inscription found in a cave at Nāsik describes, "...This cell, a gift of Dakhamitā, wife of Uṣavadāta, daughter of king Nahapāna, the Kṣaharāta Kshatrapa."[6] The third inscription discovered in the caitya cave at Karle in the Poona (Pune) district states: "(This) pillar (is) the gift of Mitadevanaka, son of Uṣavadāta from Dhenukākaṭa"[7] The fourth inscription found in a cave at Karle says, "...Uṣavadāta ... there has been given the village of Karajika for the support of the ascetics living in the caves at Valūraka without any distinction of sect or origin, for all who would keep the *varṣa* (there)."[8] Another inscription also found in a cave at Karle describes, "This gift of the nun Āsāḍhamitā."[9] All these inscriptions give an account of the important role played by the ruling class, monks as well as nuns for the progress of Buddhism during the reign of Nahapāna.

Genealogy

The Kṣaharātas[10]

Bhūmaka
Nahapāna
Dakhamitā Uṣavadāta-Mitadevanaka

References

[1]*PHAI*, 484; *IA*, XIII, 1884, 400. [2]*PHAI*, 484; *EHNI*, 100-101.
[3]*EHNI*, 101. [4]*PHAI*, 485; *AIU*, 180. [5]*EI*, VIII, 1905-6, 82.
[6]Ibid., 185. [7]Ibid., VII, 1902-3, 56. [8]Ibid., 57-58.
[9]Ibid., 56-57. [10]*EHNI*, 232; *ACHI*, 292.

The Kārdamakas or Kārddamakas

The Śaka Kṣatrapas of Ujjain were at first regarded as the greatest rivals of the Sātavāhana empire. Ysamatika, the father of Chaṣṭana, was the progenitor of the Śaka princes of Ujjain.[1] It is difficult to say anything about the proper name of the dynasty. According to Rapson, it may have been Kārddamaka or Kārdamaka.[2] It is very

probable that the Kārddamaka kings received their names from the river Kārdama in Persia.[3] Chaṣṭana was regarded as the founder of the Kārddamaka dynasty. The Periplus refers to Ujjain as their former capital.[4] From the inscriptions found at Andhau at Kachchha (Cutch) we learn that Chaṣṭana ruled conjointly with Rudradāman, his grandson in AD 130-31.[5]

Rudradāman

Rudradāman was regarded as the greatest king of the Kārddamaka dynasty. He ascended the throne after Chaṣṭana. He became an independent Mahākṣatrapa some time between the years 52 and 72 (AD 130 and 150).[6] After Rudradāman I, his successors occupied the throne of the Kārddamaka dynasty and ruled one after another. It is very probable that because of their insignificant roles both in the political as well as in the religious history of the country, we do not hear much about them. Dāmaghasada I, the eldest son of Rudradāman I, succeeded his father. After him, his son Jivadāman and his brother Rudra Siṃha I claimed the throne and wanted to capture it. But the struggle ended in favour of the latter.[7] Rudrasena I, Saṅghadāman and Dāmasena, who were sons of Rudra Siṃha I ascended the throne in succession after the latter.[8] Yaśodāman, Vijayasena and Dāmajada Śrī, who were Dāmasena's sons became Mahākṣatrapas.[9] Rudrasena II, who was a nephew of Dāmajada Śrī, succeeded him. Then Viśvasiṃha and Bhartṛdāman, who were Rudrasena II's sons followed their father.[10] Rudra Siṃha III who probably reigned up to AD 388, was the last known member of the dynasty.[11] No record refers to the development of Buddhism in the Kārddamaka kingdom.

GENEALOGY

The Kārddamakas[12]

Ysamatika
Chaṣṭana
Jayadāman
Rudradāman I
Successors of Rudradāman I

REFERENCES

1 *PHAI*, 505.	2 Ibid.	3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.	5 Ibid.	6 Ibid., 506.
7 Ibid., 509.	8 Ibid., 510.	9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.	11 Ibid.	12 Ibid., 512.

Chapter 6

Buddhism under the Guptas and Later Guptas

The beginning of the fourth century AD, which witnessed the rise of the Gupta dynasty, marked an important period in the political as well as in the religious history of ancient India. From epigraphical records it is clear that a king named Gupta or Śrīgupta had the title of Mahārāja and was the founder of the Gupta dynasty. Buddhism attained its prominence as one of the distinct religions in the Gupta period. For the study of the history of Buddhism and its development under the Guptas we are specially indebted to the Chinese pilgrims. But it is interesting to note here that Fa-hien, who visited India when the Guptas were on the throne, does not refer to the name of any Gupta ruler of his time. So his account does not furnish us with any evidence relating to the contributions of the Gupta rulers to the progress of Buddhism in their kingdom. I-tsing describes a Mahārāja Śrīgupta, who with a gift of twenty-four villages built a Buddhist temple known as the 'China Temple' near Mṛgaśikhāvana (Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no) which was about forty *yojanas* to the east of Nālandā, following the course of the Ganges for the benefit of the Chinese pilgrims from Sz'chuen in China to the Mahābodhi Temple at Bodh Gayā to offer their worship.[1] Some scholars think that this ruler was the founder of the Gupta dynasty and this temple was located in Magadha. I-tsing refers to this date on the basis of a story followed by old people from ancient times.[2] *The Life of Hiuen-tsang* describes, "Tradition says that formerly a Mahārāja called Śrīgupta built this temple for the use of Chinese priests. He was prompted to do so by the arrival of about twenty priests of that country who had travelled from Sz'chuen to the Mahābodhi Temple to offer their worship. Being impressed by their pious demeanour, he gave them the land and the revenues of about twenty villages as an endowment. This occurred some 500 years ago."[3] This statement suggests that Śrīgupta reigned in the second century AD which was really too early for a Gupta ruler.[4] Hiuen-tsang also refers to Śrīgupta. He describes, "Not far to the north of this is a large and deep ditch; this is the place where Śrīgupta, obeying the words of the heretics, desired to destroy

Buddha by fire (concealed in) the ditch, and by poisoned food.[5] It appears that Śrīgupta was a contemporary of the Buddha. Therefore, it is difficult to accept the above statement as true.

Samudragupta's reign marks an important epoch in Indian history. Wang Hiuen ts'e, a Chinese pilgrim of the seventh century AD, throws interesting light on the cultural relation between India and Ceylon in the reign of Samudragupta.[6] He writes that Chi-mi-kia-po-mo (Śrī Meghavarṇa or Meghavarman), who reigned in Ceylon (Chen-tzen) in the middle of the fourth century AD, sent ambassadors with presents to Samudragupta for his permission to build a monastery at Bodh Gayā. It is known that while Śrī Meghavarṇa was reigning, two Ceylonese Buddhist monks, Mahānāma and Upa, in order to worship the Diamond Throne, came to Bodh Gayā. But they found no suitable accommodation to stay there and when they returned to their country they referred this matter to Śrī Meghavarṇa, the king of Ceylon and requested him to do something for the Ceylonese pilgrims. The king sent envoys to Samudragupta, who gladly complied with the wishes of the Ceylonese king and gave his permission to build a monastery at Bodh Gayā. The Ceylonese king erected a splendid monastery there. Hiuen-tsang also mentions this story.[7] He says that a Ceylonese prince, who was a Buddhist monk, came to India to visit the sacred places. But he did not find any monastery in India to spend some days comfortably there. When he returned to the island he reported this matter to the Ceylonese king and requested him to erect monasteries at the holy places throughout India. At his request Mahā Śrī Rāja, the Indian king, who has been identified by scholars with Samudragupta, gave his help and co-operation to build a monastery at one of the places where the Buddha had left traces of his presence. The king of Ceylon with the permission of Mahā Śrī Rāja constructed the Mahābodhi monastery at Bodh Gayā. Hiuen-tsang states further that when he came to Bodh Gayā he saw about one thousand monks of the Great Vehicle in this monastery. Two inscriptions of Bodh Gayā which mention Mahānāma, the Sthāvira, corroborate the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims.[8]

Fa-hien, in the beginning of the fifth century AD, spent several years in the kingdom of Chandragupta II, a son of Samudragupta. Although his account[9] contains abundant references to the spread of Buddhism among the people of Chandragupta II, but his itinerary makes no mention of the name of any king. Even then, his account certainly lends some colour to the Buddhist world in Chandragupta's reign. The Chinese pilgrim describes that he found at Pāṭaliputra two monasteries of the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna monks. The monks resident in both establishments together numbered six or seven

hundred, and were so famous for learning that their lectures were frequented by students and inquirers from all quarters.[10] Fa-hien studied Sanskrit for three years at Pāṭaliputra and he found there several copies of sacred texts on monastic discipline of various schools.[11] He became extremely happy to obtain these copies. He then given an account of the colourful procession of images on the eighth day of the second month at Pāṭaliputra. He states, "With great admiration the splendid procession of images, carried on some twenty huge cars richly decorated, which annually paraded through the city on the eighth day of the second month, attended by singers and musicians"; and notes that similar processions were common in other parts of the country.[12] The Chinese pilgrims then refers to the four Buddhist shrines on the four sides of Pāṭaliputra. Each contained a seated Buddha and a standing Bodhisattva.[13]

Fa-hien gives us an account of several monasteries in northern India. He says, "In the course of a journey of some 500 miles from the Indus to Mathurā on the Jumnā, Fa-hien passed a succession of Buddhist monasteries tenanted by thousands of monks; and in the neighbourhood of Mathurā found twenty of these buildings occupied by three thousand residents. Buddhism was growing in favour in this part of the country."[14]

Fa-hien makes references to Chandragupta II's administration. From Fa-hien's record it is known that no one killed any living thing or drank any liquor or touched onions or garlic. No one kept pigs or fowls and there were no butchers' shops or distilleries in their market places.[15] We may conclude from Fa-hien's account that Buddhism was in a flourishing state in the kingdom of Chandragupta II.

Some evidence is available regarding the growing importance of Buddhism in the Gupta kingdom from Hiuen-tsang's account. The Chinese pilgrim gives the name of Śakrāditya,[16] who, according to scholars, was king Purugupta Vikrama Prakāśāditya, a brother of Skandagupta. This king was a great patron of Buddhism. He revered the three gems, i.e., the Buddha, the Dharma and the *Saṃgha*, and erected a monastery at Nālandā. Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya, who ascended the throne of the Gupta empire after Purugupta, made a valuable contribution to the progress of Buddhism in his kingdom. He gave public proof of his partiality for Buddhism by building at Nālandā, in Magadha, the principal seat of Buddhist learning in northern India, a brick temple more than 300 feet high, according to Hiuen-tsang, which was remarkable for the delicacy of its decorations and the lavish use of gold and gems in its furniture.[17] For its size, magnificence and image of the Buddha, it looked like the Great monastery near the Bodhi tree.[18] Hiuen-tsang[19] describes that for the

opening ceremony of this monastery Bālāditya invited Buddhist monks from all quarters. Two Chinese Buddhist monks to attend this ceremony came there. But when the king went there to meet them, they disappeared in a mysterious way from that place. The king was so much upset by this incident that he joined the Buddhist *Saṃgha* as a monk. Because of his age he was able to occupy an important place in the Buddhist *Saṃgha*.

Tathāgatarāja Vainyagupta, another son of Purugupta, was a great patron of Buddhism. Hiuen-tsang refers to the erection of a monastery at Nālandā by him.[20] The Chinese pilgrim says that Vajra, a son of Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya, also gave his help for the construction of a monastery at Nālandā.[21] It may be added here that the Gupta rulers were great patrons of learning and they gave their full support and made valuable contribution to the development of Buddhist monasteries like Nālandā, Taxila etc. Fa-hien says that, "the kings of the various countries and the heads of the Vaiśyas built vihāras for the priests and endowed them with fields, houses, gardens and orchards, along with the resident populations and their cattle, the grants being engraved on plates of metals."[22] Hiuen-tsang describes, "soon after the decease of the Buddha, Śakrāditya, a former king of this country, esteeming the one vehicle, and reverencing the Three Precious Ones, built a monastery. This king's son and successor Buddhagupta, continuing his father's good work, to the south of this monastery, built another one; to the east of this king Tathāgatagupta built a third monastery; and to the north east of this king Bālāditya added fourth."[23] He also describes, "Vajra, his son and successor, built another and a ruler of Mid-India afterwards erected a large monastery to the north of this."[24] Fa-hien says, "When they (the kings) make their offerings to a community of monks, they take off their royal caps, and along with their relations and ministers, supply them with food with their own hands. That done, (the king) has a carpet spread for himself on the ground, and sits down on it in front of the chairman; they dare not presume to sit on couches in front of the community."[25]

The records of the Chinese pilgrims indicate the importance of Pāṭaliputra, Mathurā, Sārnāth, Bodh Gayā and Nālandā as great centres of Buddhism during the Gupta rule. With the progress of Buddhism, the literary activity under the patronage of the Gupta rulers began to start. We see that in course of time a very large amount of Pāli and Sanskrit works were produced by scholars and Buddhist thought and philosophical ideas in the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna developed during this time. Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Dinnāga and Bhavaviveka were undoubtedly the most prominent scholars, who by their literary creations not only enriched the Buddhist philosophical literature in Sanskrit,[26] but made a permanent mark in the literary field during the fourth, fifth and the sixth centuries AD.[27] We know that during these periods the Chinese took keen interest in literary activities of the Buddhist scholars and for the enrichment of their own world the Chinese translated many texts, Sūtras, Śāstras, *Dharaṇīs* and commentaries into their own language.[28] Fa-hien, Buddhabhadra, Dharmakṣema, Kumārajīva, Paramārtha etc. helped the growth of Buddhist literature by their missionary and literary activities.[29]

Jīvitagupta I and Ādityasena were the Later Gupta rulers who did something for the progress of Buddhism in their kingdom. In the reign of Jīvitagupta a Buddhist mission from the Chinese emperor, came to his court. It shows the prosperity of Buddhism in his kingdom and the king's important role in the religious world. Wu-ti or Hsiao Yen, the first Liang emperor of China and a devotee of the religion of the Buddha, in AD 539 in order to collect original Mahāyāna texts and to take the help of an experienced scholar for its translation, despatched a mission to the court of the Later Gupta ruler, who gladly received the foreign guests and asked Paramārtha to help them in this matter.[30] It is quite clear from this episode that Magadha became an important centre of Buddhist learning during the later Gupta period.

Ādityasena was the greatest of the Later Gupta ruler.[31] It is known from the records of Hwui Li that Ādityasena was a religious person and for his notable contribution he occupied a prominent place in the religious history of the Later Gupta age. Hwui Li says, "Recently, a king called Sun-Army (Ādityasena) built by the side of the old temple another, which is now newly finished. Priests from south occupy this temple."[32] Hwui Li states further that the Tohina (China) Temple was built by a Mahārāja called Śrīgupta.[33] But "the land has now reverted to the king of eastern India, whose name is Devavarmā, but he is said to be willing to give back the temple-land and the endowment in case any priests come from China."[34] R.C. Majumdar identifies Devavarmā with Devakhaḍga, who belonged to eastern Bengal and was a contemporary of Hwui Li.[35] But Radha Govinda Basak thinks that this Devavarmā was Devagupta III, a son of Ādityasena,[36] who was a ruler of eastern India when Hwui Li visited this part of India. It seems that this ruler was a devotee of the religion of the Buddha.

GENEALOGY

The Imperial Guptas[37]

- Gupta
  - Ghatotkaca
    - Chandragupta I—Kumāra Devī
      - Samudragupta—Dattā Devī
        - Dhruva Devī—Devagupta I (Chandragupta II) Vikramāditya — Kubera Nāga
          - Govindagupta
          - Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya—(1) Devaki, (2) Anantā Devī
            - Skandagupta Vikramāditya II
            - Purugupta—Śrī Chandra Devī
              - Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya—Mitrā Devī
                - Kumāragupta II Kramāditya
                  - Viṣṇugupta
              - Buddhagupta
                - Tathāgatagupta probably related to Vainyagupta
                  - Bālāditya II (Bhānugupta ?)
                    - Prakatāditya (?)
                    - Vajra (?)
            - Ghatotkacagupta
          - Guttas of Guttal
          - Prabhāvatī
            - Vākāṭaka kings of Bhojakata etc. in the Deccan

The Later Guptas[38]

- Kṛṣṇagupta
  - Harṣagupta
    - Jīvitagupta I
      - Kumāragupta III
        - Dāmodaragupta
          - Mahāsenagupta
            - Devagupta II
            - Kumāragupta
            - Mādhavagupta Śrīmatī Devī
              - Ādityasena-Kona Devī
                - Bhogavarman—daughter Maukharī
                  - Vatsa Devī
                    - Jayadeva Paracakrakāma—Rājyamatī, daughter of Harṣadeva
                - Devagupta III—Kamalā Devī
                  - Viṣṇugupta—Ijjadevī
                    - Jīvitagupta II
          - (?) Mahāsenagupta
  - Harṣagupta
    - Īśvaravarman
      - Īśānavarman
        - Sūryavarman
        - Sarvavarman
          - Avantivarman
            - Rājyaśrī Grahavarman

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[1]*PHAI*, 528-29; *HNEI*, 6; *IA*, X, 1881, 109 ff; *JRASGBNS*, XIII, II, 1882, 570 ff; Sen, 131.

[2]*CCGD*, XV-XVI; *PHAI*, 529.

3 Hwui Li, 36-37, Saletore, 514.
4 Sen, 162.
5 Hwui Li, 113-14.
6 *MV*, XXXIX; *IA*, XXXI, 1902, 192-97; *JAI*, XV, 1908, 316-17; *PHAI*, 548; Sen, 166-67.
7 Beal, II, 133-35.
8 *IA*, XV, 1886, 359.
9 Legge, 79.
10 *EHI*, 312.
11 Ibid., 312.
12 Ibid., 312; *TFS*, ch. XXVII.
13 Legge, 60-61; *EHNI*, 172.
14 *EHI*, 313.
15 Ibid., 314; *TFS*, 322-96.
16 Watters, II, 164; Beal, II, 168.
17 Watters, II, 170; Beal, II, 173; *EHI*, 329.
18 Watters, II, 170; Beal, II, 173.
19 Watters, II, 164; Beal, II, 168.
20 Watters, II, 164; Beal, II, 168.
21 Watters, II, 164; Beal, II, 170.
22 Legge, 44.
23 Watters, II, 164-65; Beal, II, 170.
24 Watters, II, 164-65; Beal, II, 170.
25 Legge, 42.
26 *SBCI*, 9.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 *EHI*, 331.
31 Ibid., 332.
32 Hwui Li, 36.
33 Ibid.
34 Hwui Li, 36-37.
35 *EHB*, 23; Sen, 176.
36 *HNEI*, 153-54.
37 *PHAI*, 599.
38 *PHAI*, 613.

Chapter 7

Buddhism During the Reign of the Maukharis, Harṣavardhana and the Maitrakas

THE MAUKHARIS OF KANAUJ

From the known records of the Maukhari dynasty we learn that Harivarman was regarded as the founder of the Maukhari house of Kanauj.[1] The Maukharis began their rule over Kanauj at the end of the fifth century AD. It is very probable that he or his immediate ancestor went to Kanauj to settle there when the power of the Guptas declined.[2] The Haraha inscription mentions that he had the epithet of Jvālāmukha or flame-faced.[3] The Asīrgaḍh seal gives us indication that "his fame stretched out beyond the four oceans; who had other kings brought into subjection by (his) prowess, and by affection (for him)."[4] He assumed the title of Mahārāja. The name Hari suggests that he was a devotee of Hari or Viṣṇu. Because Hari was another name of Viṣṇu.

Ādityavarman ascended the throne of the Maukhari dynasty after his father Harivarman.[5] The former was a staunch follower of Brahmanism. The Haraha inscription refers to his sacrificial performances.[6] He used the title "Mahārāja". He probably was a devotee of the sun-god. Because Āditya was the name of Sūrya or the Sun. The next ruler was Īśvaravarman. In the Jaunpur inscription "he is referred to as having allayed the trouble (caused) by the approach of the cruel people, and which affected the happiness of mankind, and as being a very lion to (hostile) kings."[7] Rādhā Kumud Mookerji says, "The imperial ambitions of the Maukharis were first embodied in Īśvaravarman, who, according to the Jaunpur Stone inscription of Īśvaravarman, extended his conquests towards the west up to Dhārā, to the Vindhya and Raivataka (Girnar) mountains in pursuit of the Andhras...."[8] He may be regarded as the first Maukhari ruler who brought the family into prominence.[9] The Asīragadh seal shows that he had the title of Mahārāja.[10] He, like his predecessors, was a follower of Brahmanism, and he invoked Indra in many sacrifices, performed in accordance with the canons.[11]

Īśānavarman succeeded his father Īśvaravarman. From the Haraha inscription of the reign of Īśānavarman[12] we learn that the former, before his accession to the throne, had achieved three important victories in three different regions, viz., victories over the Āndhras, the Śūlikas and the Gauḍas of the sea-shore.[13] The inscription says that he conquered the lord of the Āndhras. According to H.C. Raychaudhuri,[14] the Āndhra king probably was Mādhavavarman of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family, who in order to conquer the eastern region crossed the river Godāvarī.[15] The Śūlikas may be identified with the Śaulikas of the *Brihatsaṃhitā* (XIV, B) and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and their country was located in the south-east along with Kaliṅga, Vidarbha and Cedi.[16] But R.C. Majumdar thinks that the Śūlikas lived on the sea-coast near the modern district of Midnapore in West Bengal.[17] But H.C. Raychaudhuri refers to them as Chalukyas. He says further that, "Śūlika may be another dialectic variant, since in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription the name appears as 'Calikya', and in the Gujarat records we find the forms Solaki and Solanki."[18] The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription says that about this time the Chalukyas became very powerful and Kīrtivarman I, a Chālukya ruler, extended his conquests up to Aṅga, Vaṅga, Magadha, Madraka and Kaliṅga etc.[19] Probably, he met Īśānavarman and was defeated in battle. It is difficult to say anything about the local dynasty of Gauḍa at that time. The Aphsad Stone inscription of Ādityasena describes that he defeated the Mālwā king Kumāragupta.[20] This indicates the extension of his territories up to Prayāga. Because his funeral rites were performed there. He assumed the title of Mahārajādhirāja. He was a follower of Brahmanism.

Sarvavarman succeeded his father Īśānavarman. The Haraha inscription mentions Sūryavarman, another son of Īśānavarman. It is very probable that he during the lifetime of his father caused a dilapidated temple of Andhakāri, Śiva to be raised at his wish and made an ornament of the earth.[21] There is no reference to him in any other record. It may suggest that he predeceased his father. H.C. Raychaudhuri identifies him with the ruler of the same name recorded in the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahāśivagupta.[22] Sarvavarman defeated Dāmodaragupta I, the Later Gupta ruler and annexed Magadha and its western portion. According to some scholars, Susthitavarman wore the Maukhari crown after Sarvavarman.[23]

The next ruler was Avantivarman, who was a son of Sarvavarman. Bāṇa refers to him as the pride of the Maukhara race,[24] and was worshipped like Śiva's footprint, by all the world.[25] The *Harṣacarita* says that Grahavarman, who was the eldest son of Avantivarman, succeeded his father.[26] He by marrying Rājyaśrī, the princess of Thāneśwara and the sister of Rājyavardhana and Harṣavardhana, formed matrimonial alliance with the Vardhanas of Thāneśwara. But Devagupta, the king of Mālavā, who was a great enemy of the Vardhanas, did not like this alliance and he soon made an alliance with Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa, after the death of Prabhākaravardhana of Thāneśwara. Devagupta of Mālavā invaded Kanauj with the help of Śaśāṅka and killed Grahavarman in AD 606.[27] He occupied Kanauj and Rājyaśrī was thrown into prison. This Maukhari ruler, like his predecessors, was a follower of Brahmanism. Harṣavardhana recovered his sister Rājyaśrī, relieved Kanauj from foreign occupation and drove the invaders out of Kanauj. In course of time he transferred his capital from Thāneśwara to Kanauj. We do not know anything from any record about the prevalence of Buddhism in the kingdom of Kanauj during the reign of the Maukhari rulers.

Genealogy

The Maukharis of Kanauj

Harivarman
Ādityavarman
Īśvaravarman
Īśānavarman (AD 550)
Sarvavarman (AD 560)
Susthitavarman (AD 567)
Avantivarman (AD 600)
Grahavarman (AD 605-6).

References

[1] *HKMC*, 36.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.; *CII*, III, 220-21; *EI*, XIV, 11, 119, vv. 4-5.
[5] *HKMC*., 36-37.
[6] Ibid., 37; *EI*, XIV, 116, 119, v. 7.
[7] *HKMC*., 37; *CII*, III, 230
[8] *Harṣa*, 54.
[9] *HKMC*, 38.
[10] Ibid., 38.
[11] Ibid., 39.
[12] Ibid., 40; *Harṣa*, 54-55; *EI*, XIV, 117-20, v. 13.
[13] *HKMC*, 40; *Harṣa*, 54-55.
[14] *HKMC*, 40; *PHAI*, 405; *JASB*, 1920, 391, fn 5.
[15] *HKMC*, 40; *AHD*, 92.
[16] *HKMC*, 41; *Harṣa*, 54, fn 2; *IA*, XXII, 189.
[17] *HKMC*, 41; *OM*, 105.
[18] *HKMC*, 41; *PHAI*, 405-6; *IA*, XIX, 16-20, *BG*, I, II, 336.
[19] *HKMC*, 42; *Harṣa*, 54, fn 2; *BG*, I, II, 345; *IA*, XIX, 17, 19.
[20] *Harṣa*, 5 5
[21] *HKMC*, 44.
[22] Ibid.; *PHAI*, 407, fn 3; *EI*, XI, 185 ff.
[23] *HKMC*, 47; *CII*, III, Introduction, 15; *HMHI*, I, 14; *Harṣa*, 55.
[24] *HKMC*, 49.
[25] Ibid.; *HC*, 122.
[26] *HKMC*, 50.
[27] Ibid., 60.
[28] Ibid., 378-79; *Harṣa*, 52, 64-65.

IN THE AGE OF HARṢAVARDHANA

Harṣavardhana (or Harṣa), a son of Prabhākaravardhana, ascended the throne of Thāneśwara in the beginning of the seventh century AD. But he had transferred his capital to Kanauj from Thāneśwara. He was regarded as a great and powerful monarch. He is one of the few examples in our ancient annals of a king who by his conquests made himself a king of kings and achieved the political unification of a large part of India as its paramount sovereign.[1] From Hiuen-tsang's account we know that after the death of Prabhākaravardhana and Rājyavardhana, the chief minister requested Harṣavardhana to accept the throne of Thāneśwara and to assume the royal authority. His record throws light on it. He says, "The people having lost their ruler, the country became desolate. Then the great minister Po-ni (Bhendi), whose power and reputation were high and of much weight, addressing the assembled ministers, said, "the destiny of the nation is to be fixed today. The old king's son is dead: the brother of the prince, however, is humane and affectionate and his disposition, heaven-confessed, is dutiful and obedient. Because he is strongly attached to his family, the people will trust in him. I propose that he assumes the royal authority; let each one give his opinion on his matter, whatever he thinks." They all agreed on this point and acknowledged his conspicuous qualities.

On this the chief ministers and the magistrates all exhorted him to take authority, saying, "Let the royal prince attend."

The prince replied, "The government of a country is a responsible office and ever attended with difficulties. The duties of a prince require previous consideration. As for myself, I am indeed of small eminence; but as my father and brother are no more, to reject the heritage of the crown that can bring no benefit to the people. I must attend to the opinion of the world and forget my own insufficiency. Now, therefore, on the bank of the Ganges there is a statue of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva which has evidenced many spiritual wonders. I shall go to it and ask advice (request a response)." Forthwith, coming to the spot where the figure of the Bodhisattva was, he remained before it fasting and praying. The Bodhisattva recognised his sincere intention (heart), appeared in a bodily form and inquired, "What do you seek that you are so earnest in your supplications?" The prince answered, "I have suffered under a load of affliction. My dear father, indeed, is dead, who was full of kindness; and my brother, humane and gentle as he was, has been odiously murdered. In the presence of these calamities I humble myself as one of little virtue; nevertheless, the people would exalt me to the royal dignity, to fill the high place of my illustrious father. Yet I am, indeed, but ignorant and foolish. In my trouble I ask the holy direction (of the Bodhisattva)."

The Bodhisattva replied, "In former existence you lived in this forest as a hermit (a forest mendicant), and by your earnest diligence and unremitting attention you inherited a power of religious merit which resulted in your birth as a king's son. The king of the country, Karṇasuvarṇa, has overturned the law of the Buddha. Now when you succeed to the royal estate, you should in the same proportion exercise towards it the utmost love and pity. If you give your mind to compassionate the condition of the distressed and to cherish them, then before long you shall rule over the Five Indies. If you establish your authority, attend to my instruction, and by my secret power you shall receive additional enlightenment, so that not one of your neighbours shall be able to triumph over you. Ascend not the lion-throne, and call not yourself Mahārāja."

"The promise is that if this advice is followed, then, by my mysterious energy (or, in the darkness), shall be added the benefit (happiness) of light, so that in the neighbouring kingdoms there shall be no one strong enough to resist (your arms)."[2] After receiving these instructions he accepted the offer of the ministers and magistrates and ascended the throne of Thāneśwara. He called himself Kumāra, the king's son and took the title of Śilāditya or "Sun of Virtue."[3] Practically, Śilāditya or Harṣavardhana conquered all the kingdoms of north India but in the south he was defeated at the hands of Pulikeśi or Pulakeśa or Pulakeśin II.[4] Harṣavardhana's prayer before a statue of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva for his holy direction clearly indicates his faith in Buddhism and his great attachment to the Mahāyāna. Under his rule the small principality of Thāneśwara became the most powerful kingdom in northern India.[5] Hiuen-tsang also says that he had 5,000 elephants, 2,000 cavalry and 50,000 foot soldiers. After conquering the Five Indies, he enlarged his forces and we see from the Chinese pilgrim's account that he had 50,000 war elephants and 1,00,000 cavalry.[6] Hiuen-tsang refers to him as an energetic ruler.[7]

At first Harṣavardhana was a devotee of Śiva 'Parama-Maheśvara.'[8] The Banskhera Plate of Harṣavardhana refers to him as a devout worshipper of Maheśvara, "who like Maheśvara is compassionate towards all created beings."[9] Afterwards he became a follower of the Hinayāna. But later on he took keen interest in Mahāyāna Buddhism and became its great supporter. R.S. Tripathi says, "In his latter days, he appears to have inclined more and more towards Buddhism perhaps due to its brilliant exposition by Yuan Chwang and the

influence of his Buddhist sister Rājyaśrī. In the Kanauj assembly Harṣa even showed some partiality for the Mahāyāna by stifling free discussion and by representing Śakra and Brahmā as mere attendants on the Buddha.[10] He tolerated other religions and gave his help for their prosperity. R.S. Tripathi states, "He maintained the eclectic character of his public worship, and officially honoured the Brahmanical deities of Āditya (Sun) and Śiva in the Prayāga assembly. He fed the Brāhmaṇas and gave them alms without stint."[11] We are told that in his kingdom both Hinduism and Buddhism had their equal followers. Both the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna forms of Buddhism were prevalent.[12] Hiuen-tsang says that in Kanauj there were about 100 monasteries *(saṅghārāmas)* and 10,000 monks, who used to study the doctrines of the Great and Small Vehicles.[13]

Hiuen-tsang gives some interesting information about Harṣavardhana. He says, "He governed everywhere in peace. He then practised to the utmost the rules of temperance (temperate restrictions), and sought to plant the tree of religious merit to such an extent that he forgot to sleep or to eat. He forbade the slaughter of any living thing or flesh as food throughout the Five Indies on pain of death without pardon.[14] He built on the banks of the river Ganges several thousand stūpas, each about 100 feet high; in all the highways of the towns and villages throughout India he erected hospices (*puṇyaśālās*, pure lodging houses), provided with food and drink, and stationed there physicians with medicines for travellers and poor persons round about, to be given without any stint. On all spots where there were holy traces (of Buddha) he raised Saṅghārāmas."[15]

Harṣavardhana showed his great interest in the Mahāyāna and its sacred scriptures. He became a great friend of Hiuen-tsang. Rene Grousset remarks, "Harṣa of course never broke with official Brahmanism nor even with the Hindu sects, any more than did any other Indian ruler of his day. Hiuen-tsang depicts him showering the Brahmins with gifts and in his own works he declared himself a worshipper of Śiva; moreover his confident and friend, the romance-writer Bāṇa, was a Brahmin by caste and a Hindu by belief. But the monarch's personal preference clearly lay with Buddhism and, within Buddhism, the school of the Mahāyāna. And even within the Mahāyāna his sympathies appear to have run to Yogācāra idealism as taught in the monasteries of Nālandā and as professed by Hiuen-tsang. It is not surprising then, that he and the latter got on so well together. Indeed in the few weeks that they were to spend together a close friendship was to form between the Indian Mahārāja and the pilgrim from China."[16] The Chinese pilgrim wrote the treatises—in refutation of the opponents of the Mahāyāna, both Hīnāyāna and Hindu.[17] The

king studied them and had discussion with the Chinese pilgrim. Rājyaśrī, the king's sister, was a great follower of Buddhism, and was present while his brother had a talk with the Chinese pilgrim. She spoke highly in praise of their Chinese guest. She not only appreciated his talk but congratulated him for his arguments against the doctrines of the Hīnayāna, the Little Vehicle.[18] The king was extremely happy after his conversation with the Chinese pilgrim. He then convened an assembly at Kanauj. He invited the followers of the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna and also the Brāhmaṇas for discussion.[19] Here the Chinese pilgrim was able to "dispel the blindness of the heretics of the Hīnayāna and shatter the overweening pride of the Brahmins and adherents of the Hindu sects."[20] This account indicates the popularity of the Mahāyāna in the kingdom of Harṣavardhana. The king, his sister and other members of the royal family patronised it and gave their full support for its development in Kanauj and other parts of the country. Hiuen-tsang not only participated in the discussion but took an active part in this conference. His arguments were so interesting that he was declared as 'lord of the discussion'.[21] He gave his talk on the merits of the Mahāyāna and there was none who had the courage to argue and to oppose him in discussion. None challenged him for five days. Then his rivals, who were probably the adherents of the Hīnayāna, were jealous of him and they made a plan to kill him.[22] When Harṣavardhana knew it, he gave order to behead those people who wanted to kill his guest. The king said further that "whoever speaks against him, his tongue shall be cut out."[23] It was because of the king's proclamation no body dared to do anything against him. No body opposed him in debate. Harṣavardhana, at the end of the session of this assembly, gave gifts of 10,000 pieces of gold, 30,000 pieces of silver, 100 garments of superior cotton to Hiuen-tsang[24] in recognition of his excellent performance and his great services for the establishment of Mahāyāna Buddhism in his kingdom. The eighteen kings who were present in the assembly also wanted to give him rare jewels.[25] But the Chinese pilgrim did not accept anything from them. Harṣavardhana with his ministers and royal officers then took him in a procession. They were happy to see his great role for the growth of the Mahāyāna in Kanauj and it surrounding regions.[26]

Hiuen-tsang refers to the great assembly of Harṣavardhana at Kanauj. He describes, "Once in five years he (Harṣavardhana) held the great assembly called Mokṣa. He emptied his treasuries to give all away in charity, all reserving the soldiers' arms, which were unfit to give as alms. Every year he assembled the *śramaṇas* from all countries, and on the third and seventh days he bestowed on them in

charity the four kinds of alms (viz., food, drink, medicine, clothing). He decorated the throne of the law (the pulpit) and extensively ornamented (arranged) the orataries (the expression may refer to mats or seats for discussion or for religious services). He ordered the priests to carry on discussions and himself judged of their several arguments, where they were weak or powerful. He rewarded the good and punished the wicked, degraded the evil and promoted the men of talent. If any one (of the priests) walked according to the moral precepts, and was distinguished in addition for purity in religion (reason), he himself conducted such as one to "the lion-throne" and received from him the precepts of the law. If any one, though distinguished for purity of life had no distinction for learning, he was reverenced, but not highly honoured. If any one disregarded the rules of morality and was notorious for his disregard of propriety, he banished him from the country, and would neither see him nor listen to him. If any of the neighbouring princes or their chief ministers lived religiously, with earnest purpose, and aspired to a virtuous character without regarding labour, he led him by the hand to occupy the same seat with himself, and called him "illustrious friend"; but he disdained to look upon those of a different character... if there was any irregularity in the manners of the people of the cities, he went amongst them. Wherever he moved he dwelt in a readymade building during his sojourn. During the excessive rains of the three months of the rainy season he would not travel thus. Constantly in his travelling palace he would provide choice meals for men of all sorts of religion. The Buddhist priests would be perhaps a thousand; the Brāhmaṇas five hundred. He divided each day into three portions. During the first he occupied himself on matters of government; during the second he practised himself in religious devotion (merit) without interruption so that the day was not sufficiently long.... Śilāditya-rāja convoked a religious assembly. Followed by several hundreds of thousand people, he took his place on the southern bank of the river Ganges, whilst Kumāra-rāja, attended by several tens of thousands, took his place on the northern bank, and thus divided by the stream of the river, they advanced on land by water. The two kings led the way with their gorgeous staff of soldiers.... After ninety days they arrived at the city of Kanyakubja (and rested) on the western shore of the Ganges river, in the middle of a flowery copse.

Then the kings of the twenty countries who had received instruction from Śilāditya-rāja assembled with the *śramaṇas* and Brāhmaṇas, the most distinguished of their country, with magistrates and soldiers. The king in advance had constructed on the west side of the river a great Saṅghārāma, and on the east of this a precious tower about 100 feat in height; in the middle he had placed a golden statue of Buddha, of the same height as the king himself. On the south of the tower he placed a precious altar, in the place for washing the image of the Buddha. From this north-east 14 or 15 *li* he erected another rest-house. It was now the second month of spring-time; from the first day of the month he had presented exquisite food to the *śramaṇas* and Brāhmaṇas till the 21st day; all along from the temporary-palace (the palace of travel, erected during a travelling excursion) to the Saṅghārāma, there were highly decorated pavilions and places where musicians were stationed, who raised the sounds of their various instruments. The king, on leaving the resting-hall (palace of travel), made them bring forth on a gorgeously caparisoned great elephant a golden statue of Buddha about three feet high, and raised aloft. On the left went the king, Śilāditya, dressed as Śakra, holding a precious canopy, whilst Kumāra-rāja, dressed as Brahma-rāja holding a white *cāmara*, went on the right. Each of them had as an escort 500 war elephants clad in armour; in front and behind the statue of Buddha went 100 great elephants, carrying musicians, who sounded their drums and raised their music. The king, Śilāditya, as he went, scattered on every side pearls and various precious substances, with gold and silver flowers, in honour of the three precious objects of worship. Having first washed the image in scented water at the altar, the king then himself bore it in his shoulder to the western tower, where he offered to it tens, hundreds, and thousands of silken garments decorated with precious gems. At this time there were but about twenty *śramaṇas* following in the procession, the kings of the various countries forming the escort. After the feast they assembled the different men of learning, who discussed in elegant language on the most abstruse subjects. At evening-tide the king retired in state to his palace of travel.

Thus every day he carried the golden statue as before, till at length on the day of separation a great fire suddenly broke out in the tower and the pavilion over the gate of the Saṅghārāma was also in flames. Then the king exclaimed, "I have exhausted the wealth of my country in charity, and following the example of former kings, I have built the Saṅghārāma, and I have aimed to distinguish myself by superior deeds, but my poor attempts have found no return. In the presence of such calamities as these, what need I of further life?"

Then with incense-burning he prayed, and with this vow, "Thanks to my previous merit, I have come, to reign over all India; let the force of my religious conduct destroy this fire; or if not, let me die." Then he rushed headlong towards the threshold of the gate, when sud-

denly as if by a single blow, the fire was extinguished and the smoke disappeared.

The kings beholding the strange event, were filled with redoubled reverence; but he (the king), with unaltered face and unchanged accents, addressed the princes thus, "The fire has consumed this crowning work of my religious life...."

The princes, prostrate at his feet, with tears, replied, "The work which marked the crowning act of your perfected merit and which we hoped would be handed down to future ages, has in a moment been reduced to ashes... ."

The king answered, "By this, atleast, we see the truth of what Buddha said; the heretics and others insist on the permanency of things, but our great teacher's doctrine is that all things are impermanent. As for me, my work of charity was finished, according to my purpose; and this destructive calamity does but strengthen my knowledge of the truth of Tathāgata's doctrine. This is a great happiness (good fortune), and not a subject for lamentation."

On this, in company with the kings, he went to the east, and mounted the great stūpa. Having reached the top, he looked around on the scene, and then descending the steps, suddenly a heretic (or a strange man), knife in hand, rushed on the king. The king, startled at the sudden attack, stepped back a few steps up the stairs, and then bending himself down he seized the man, in order to deliver him to the magistrates... .

The kings demanded the culprit should be instantly killed, but Śilāditya-rāja without the least show of fear and with unchanged countenance, commanded them not to kill him; and then he himself questioned him.

The culprit answered and said, "Great king. You have assembled the people of different countries, and exhausted your treasury in offerings to the *śramaṇas* and cast a metal image of Buddha; but the heretics who have come from a distance have scarcely been spoken to their minds, therefore, have been affected with resentment, and they procured me, wretched man that I am to undertake this unlucky deed."

The king then questioned the heretics and their followers. There were 500 Brāhmaṇas, all of singular talent, summoned before the king. Jealous of the *śramaṇas*, whom the king reverenced and exceedingly honoured, they had caused the precious tower to catch fire by means of burning arrows, and they hoped that in escaping from the fire the crowd would disperse in confusion, and at such a moment they purposed to assassinate the king. Having been foiled in this, they had bribed this man to lay wait for the king in a narrow passage and kill him.

Then the ministers and the kings demanded the extermination of the heretics. The king punished the chief of them and pardoned the rest. He banished the 500 Brāhmaṇas to the frontiers of India and then returned to his capital."[27] Hiuen-tsang refers to a ruler called Kumāra-rāja. He was Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa in Assam.[28] He was a good friend of Harṣavardhana. He belonged to Vaiṣṇava family and a great devotee of Maheśvara.[29] He invited Hiuen-tsang to come to his place. He gladly accepted his invitation and came to his place with the intention of converting him and his people to Buddhism because he learnt from Śīlabhadra of Nālandā that within its territories the Law of Buddha has not widely extended.[30] But we are quite sure that the Chinese pilgrim could not convert him to Buddhism. The king and his people gave him a warm welcome and did everything for his comfort during his stay in Kāmarūpa.

It is known from Hiuen-tsang's record that the Brāhmaṇas were jealous of the Buddhist monks. Because Harṣavardhana honoured them exceedingly. The Brāhmaṇas neither appreciated it nor liked the growth of Buddhism in his kingdom under his great patronage. That is why they wanted to kill its great patron and to check its further progress. But Hiuen-tsang's record clearly shows the prosperity of Buddhism in the kingdom of Harṣavardhana although it declined in other parts of India.[31]

At the end of his great assembly at Kanauj, Harṣavardhana went to Prayāga (Po-Lo-ye-kia) at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumnā for his sixth quinquennial distribution of alms.[32] From old time till now, the kings and noble families, whenever they had occasion to distribute their gifts in charity, ever came to this place, and here gave away their goods; hence it is called the great charity enclosure,[33] or the "Arena of Charitable offerings."[34] Most probably, it is for this reason, King Harṣavardhana after the example of his ancestors came to this place for the distribution of the accumulated wealth of five years in one day.[35] At the invitation of king nearly 500,000—*śramaṇas*, Brāhmaṇas, Nirgranthas, heretics, the poor, the orphans and bereaved of the Five Indies came to Prayāga to receive alms offered to them by the king.[36] Hwui Li's account throws light on this ceremony at Prayāga.[37] Harṣavardhana, on the first day of the first period, in one of the buildings, erected on "the Grand Arena of Largesse", established the Buddha's image and he worshipped it with the most costly things. To celebrate this occasion he presented robes, foods and other things to the resident monks.[38] The king, on the second day, established the statue of Ādityadeva (i.e. sun) and for this purpose, he distributed many things to the people, who were present there.[39] On the third day the king established the statue of Īśvaradeva

and presented gifts to the men of distinguished talent.[40] The king on the fourth day came with gifts and offered to 10,000 of the religious community, arranged in a hundred ranks.[41] The king then distributed many gifts to the Brāhmaṇas and this ceremony continued for twenty days.[42] Then he gave many things to the heretics and this ceremony lasted for ten days.[43] Most probably the heretics were the Jainas and the followers of other sects.[44] The king then invited the mendicants who came from distant places for alms and this ceremony continued for ten days.[45] He then gave gifts to the poor, the needy, the orphans and the destitute and it continued for a month.[46] But it may be added here that in each case the gifts given by the king to those who were invited by him at Prayāga were only half the value of those offered to the Buddha on the first day of the first period.[47] This shows the importance of Buddhism in Harṣavardhana's life and his great love and respect for it and its adherents. The king gave away all his wealth in charity. He then accepted from Rājyaśrī, his sister, an ordinary second-hand garment and after covering his body with it he offered his worship to the Buddha of the ten regions.[48] He became extremely happy to distribute everything he had in his treasuries. He said, "In amassing all this wealth and treasure I ever feared that it was not safely stored in a strong place; but now having bestowed this treasure in the field of religious merit, I can safely say it is well bestowed. Oh that I (Śīlāditya) may in all my future births ever thus religiously give in charity to mankind my stores of wealth, and thus complete in myself the ten independent powers (*dasabalas*) (of a Buddha)."[49]

At the invitation of Harṣavardhana Hiuen-tsang came to Prayāga to witness the former's sixth quinquennial distribution of alms.[50] The Chinese pilgrim mentions the names of the two kings who were Dhruvabhaṭa (Tu-lu-po-pa-cha), the king of western India and Kumārarāja of Kāmarūpa in Assam.[51] This Dhruvabhaṭa was the king of Valabhi, and has been identified by scholars with Dhruvasena II. He was the son-in-law of Harṣavardhana.[52] The Chinese pilgrim makes no mention of the names of other kings who were present at Prayāga.

Harṣavardhana constructed many stūpas on the banks of the Ganges and erected several monasteries in his kingdom.[53] He did this for the spread of Buddhism. For the maintenance of the Nālandā Mahāvihāra he did not hesitate to spend money.[54] Nālandā was a great centre of Buddhist learning and Harṣavardhana was its great patron. He also erected a brass monastery there.[55] Every year he invited Buddhist monks and Buddhist scholars for religious discussion and examination. He was great patron of Buddhist scholars and

he patronised Śīlabhadra, Divākaramitra, Jayasena etc.[56] He was so much devoted to scholars that he gave the revenue of eighty large towns of Orissa to Jayasena, the famous Buddhist scholar, but he refused to accept his offer.[57] His (Harṣavardhana's) virtues and powers exceeded those of Viṣṇu, Paśupati, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and other deities; his sacrifices, his wisdom, poetic faculty and gusto were incomparable.[58] As a devotee of Buddhism the king played a great role for its prosperity in his kingdom. From records it is known that the religion of the Buddha flourished to a great extent in Kanauj and its neighbouring regions. In Kanauj there were three famous Saṅghārāmas which were enclosed by a wall but they had separate gates.[59] In these Saṅghārāmas there were images of the Buddha.[60] The monks performed their religious duties according to the *Vinaya* rules a d there several thousands of lay-devotees.[61] A tooth-relic of the Buddha about one and a half inches in length, very bright and of different colours at morning and night was kept in a precious casket in one of the Saṅghārāmas.[62] People from far and near used to come to the Saṅghārāma to see the tooth of the Buddha and they used to pay one great gold piece as an entrance-fee.[63] Hiuen-tsang says that king Harṣavardhana brought this tooth-relic of the Buddha from Kashmir and he enshrined it in this Saṅghārāma.[64] He had to use force for the possession. It is because of this relic Kanauj was able to attract the attention of the Buddhists and it occupied an important position as a place of one of the Buddha's relics. Harṣavardhana's use of force to secure the tooth-relic and his enshrinement in a Saṅghārāma built by him in his capital indicate him as a jealous Buddhist. Hiuen-tsang describes, "In recent times Śīlāditya-rāja, hearing that Kashmir possessed a tooth of Buddha, coming in person to the chief frontier, asked permission to see and worship it. The congregation, from a feeling of sordid avarice, were unwilling to consent to this request, and so took the relic and concealed it. But the king fearing the exalted character of Śīlāditya, set about digging here and there till he found the relic and having found it, presented it to the king. Śīlāditya seeing it was overpowered with reverence, and exercising force carried it off to pay it religious offerings."[65]

Harṣavardhana was a great patron of Mahāyāna Buddhism. His letter to Śīlabhadra of the Nālandā monastery regarding his great anxiety over the slow progress of the Mahāyāna due to the Hīnayāna in Orissa and his request to Śīlabhadra to do something for the Mahāyāna impress us that he sincerely devoted himself to the welfare and the development of the Mahāyāna in Orissa. Hiuen-tsang says, "He (Harṣavardhana) sent a messenger with a letter to the Nālandā convent to Śīlabhadra, the Master of the Law surnamed 'the treasure of the true doctrine', (*Saddharmapiṭaka?*), in which he said, Your

servant, whilst progressing through Orissa, met some priests of the Little Vehicle who, hampered by contracted views, adhere to a Śāstra which abuses the principles of the Great Vehicle. They speak of the followers of that system as men of a different religion, and they wish to hold a controversy with you on this point. Now I know that in your convent there are eminent priests and exceedingly gifted, of different schools of learning who will undoubtedly be able to overthrow them... so now, in answer to their challenge, I beg you to send four men of eminent ability, well acquainted with one and the other school, and also with the esoteric and exoteric doctrine, to the country of Orissa."[66] Śīlabhadra, after receiving this letter, requested Sāgaramati, Prajñāraśmi, Siṃharaśmi and Hiuen-tsang to go to Orissa for preaching the doctrine of the Mahāyāna.[67]

Rene Grousset gives a picture of the spread of Buddhism in the kingdom of Harṣavardhana and his great role as a follower of the religion of the Buddha. He describes, "Now this conqueror (Harṣavardhana), this peacemaker, this last emperor of independent India was a most pious Buddhist. Like Aśoka before him he was a veritable saint upon the throne. His wars once over, Hiuen-tsang tells us, his only concern was for the material and moral well-being of his people. His ideal as sovereign was to impregnate the laws and customs of the country with the gentleness and charity of Buddhism. It was a worthy effort, coming as it did on the eve of the great tidal wave of Śivaism and its make of violence.... Like Aśoka he attempted to forbid the killing of animals; and like him he erected thousands of stūpas and monasteries. In the towns and villages, at cross-roads and other meetings of the ways he built houses of relief in which were stored food, drink and medicaments to be given as alms to travellers and to the poor and indigent."

"No monarch took his kingly task as seriously as he. 'When the kings of the small neighbouring kingdoms or when their ministers or chief officers performed good works and sought to attain virtue,' writes Hiuen-tsang, 'he took them by the hand and seated them upon his throne, calling them his good friends'."

Like Aśoka and also Kaniṣka before him, Harṣa took an active part in the life of the Buddhist church. Each year he called a council of monks drawn from the whole of India, discussing points of doctrine with them, sustaining their faith, and heaping alms upon the deserving religious. He invited the most scholarly and the most saintly among them to sit on his throne and himself received instruction from their lips.

Furthermore, and this is another feature which he had in common with his saintly predecessor Aśoka, we find this monk like ruler

endowed with a spirit of tolerance that does great honour to Indian Buddhism. He had himself personally responsible for supplying the daily wants not only a thousand Buddhist monks but also of five hundred Brahmins.[68]

Some evidence is available regarding the spread of Buddhism in India at the time of Harṣavardhana. Hiuen-tsang's account is very useful on this point. It helps us to draw a picture of Buddhism, the progress of the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna, the popularity of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, and the development of its various sects in the age of Harṣavardhana. Hiuen-tsang refers to the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna, the two main divisions of Buddhism and also makes references to eighteen schools. He desribes, "As a religious system of Julai[69] is apprehended by people according to their king, and as it is long since the time of the Holy One, Buddhism now is pure or diluted according to the spiritual insight and mental capacity of its adherents. The tenets of the schools keep these isolated, and controversy runs high: heresies on special doctrines lead many ways to the same end. Each of the Eighteen schools claims to have intellectual superiority; and the tenets of the Great and the Small Systems (Vehicles) differwidely.... Wherever there is a community of Brethren it makes (its own) rules of gradation. The Brother who expounds orally one treatise (or class of scripuire) in the Buddhist canon, whether *Vinaya*, *Abhidharma* or *Sūtra*, is exempted from serving under the prior; he who expounds two is invested with the outfit of a superior; he who expounds three has Brethren deputed to assist him; he who expounds four has lay servants assigned to him; he who expounds five rides an elephant; he who expounds six rides an elephant and has a surrounding retinue. Where the spiritual attainments are high, the distinctions conferred are extraordinary."[70]

Hiuen-tsang found about 5,000 monasteries and many Buddhist colleges for monks in India at the time of Harṣavardhana. He also mentions that in some places the followers of the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna used to reside side by side in one monastery.[71]

A graphic account of the adherents of the different schools of Buddhism and different centres of Buddhism flourished in India in the age of Harṣavardhana is given by Radha Kumud Mookerji. On the basis of the records of Hiuen-tsang Mookerji has prepared his chart to inform us about the development of Buddhism in India. His description is quite impressive and we get interesting glimpses of the growth of Buddhism from the distribution of monks among the different schools and centres of Buddhism not only in the kingdom of Harṣavardhana but also in other parts of India of his time. He writes,[72]

1. *Sthāvira*

In Gayā (in the vihāra of the Ceylonese king)	1,000
In Samatata	2,000
In Kaliṅga	500
In Draviḍa	10,000
In Bharoach	300
In Sūrat	3,000
Total	16,800

2. *Sammitīya*

In Ahicchatra	1,000
In Saṅkasya	1,000
In Hayamukha	1,000
In Viśoka	3,000
In Kapilavastu	30
In Benares	3,000
In Sārnāth	1,500
In Monghyr	4,000
In Karṇasuvarṇa	2,000
In Mālavā	20,000
In Valabhi	6,000
In Sindh	10,000
In Karachi	5,000
In Pitaśilā	3,000
In Avanda (?)	2,000
In Ānandapura	1,000
Total	63,530

3. *Sarvāstivādin*

In Gaz	2,000
In Tamasavana vihāra	300
In Matipur	800
In Pigeon vihāra	200
In Navadéva kula	500
In Gurjara	100
In Monghyr	2,000
Total	5,900

4. *Lokottaravādin*
In Bamian several thousands.

5. *Hīnayāna* (without mention of any sects)

In Sakala	100
In Gandhāra	50
In Sthāneśvara	700
In Śrughna	1,000
In Givisana	100
In Kośambī	300
In Ghazipur	1,000
In Magadha	50
In Campa	200
Total	3,500

6. *Mahāyāna*

In Kapis	6,000
In Udyāna	18,000
In Takṣaśilā	300
In Ku-lu-to(on the Upper Beas)	1,000
In Pi-lo-shan-na	300
In Magadha	10,000
In Puṇyavardhana	700
In Orissa	Myriads
In S. Kośala	10,000
In Ti-lo-shi-ka vihāra	1,000
In Dhanakaṭaka	1,000
In Fa-la-na (Gomal valley)	300
Total	48,600

7. *Bhikṣus who studied both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna*

In Mathurā	2,000
In Jālandhar	2,000
In Kānyakubja	10,000
In Ayodhyā	3,000
In Vṛji	1,000
In Puṇyavardhana	3,000
In Kaṅkana	10,000
In Mahārāṣṭra	5,000
In Cutch	1,000

In Ujjeni	300
In Parvata	1,000
In Mekran	6,000
Total	44,300
8. *Bhikṣus whose sects are not specified*	
In Kashmir	5,000
In Rājmahal	300
In Tāmralipti	1,000
In Andhra	3,000
Total	9,300
Totals of above	
Hīnayāna	
Sthāvira	16,800
Sammitīya	63,530
Sarvāstivādin	5,900
Unnamed	3,500
Mahāyāna	48,600
Both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna	44,300
Monks whose sects are not specified	9,300
Grand Total	1,91,300

Kanauj became a stronghold of Buddhism under the rule of Harṣavardhana. It was a flourishing city with a number of large Buddhist monasteries and splendid buildings. Fa-hien saw only two Buddhist monasteries at Kanauj, but in Hiuen-tsang's account there are references to one hundred Buddhist monasteries.[73] Hiuen-tsang also mentions that there were about 10,000 Buddhist monks at Kanauj in the age of Harṣavardhana. The facts stated above leave no doubt that Buddhism prevailed under his patronage in his kingdom although, in many places, it did not prosper at all. It declined miserably. Harṣavardhana's sister, Rājyaśrī also occupied an important place for her contribution to Buddhism. She was a follower of the Sammitīya school. Hiuen-tsang says, "The king had a sister of great intelligence who was distinguished for knowledge of the Sammitīya school doctrine; she was sitting behind the king, and as she heard the Master of the Law extolling the doctrine of the Great Vehicle, and exposing the extreme poverty of the Little school of doctrine, she was filled with joy, and could not cease her praises."[74]

She played an important part for the propagation of Buddhism in her brother's kingdom. She took lessons on Buddhist doctrines from Divākaramitra, the Buddhist monk.[75] It was because of her the Sammitīya school was spread among the people of her brother's kingdom.

Harṣavardhana was one of the most eminent kings of India. He took the throne after his brother Rājyavardhana and within a very short time he brought whole India under his sway. Even the king of Assam (Kāmarūpa) in the east paid his homage to him and tried his best to follow and to obey him. Indeed, the age of Harṣa witnessed a considerable development of a Greater India beyond the limits of India both towards the islands of the southern seas and the eastern countries. Indian culture was spreading in all the neighbouring countries of India.[76] Both Hiuen-tsang and Bāṇa in their accounts describe that Buddhism, Brahmanism and Jainism flourished side by side in the kingdom of Harṣavardhana.[77] But Jainism was popular only in Vaiśālī, Puṇḍravardhana and Samatata.[78] Prayāga and Vārāṇasī were great centres of Brahmanism in the kingdom of Harṣavardhana.[79] Harṣavardhana himself offered his worship and paid homage to the three deities of the family, Śiva, Sun and Buddha. In the Prayāga assembly he officially worshipped Āditya and Śiva, the Brahmanical deities and always he tried his best to maintain the eclectic spirit of his public worship.[80] But in the later part of his life, he showed his keen interest in Hīnayāna Buddhism, and, afterwards in Mahāyāna Buddhism. He led the life of a devout Buddhist. In his life the Buddhist doctrines held the chief place. That is why he embraced the Buddhist prohibitions against the destruction of animal life with the utmost strictures. His annual meeting with the Buddhist monks for religious discussion and examination, the erection of Buddhist monasteries and stūpas by him in his kingdom, the enshrinement of the tooth-relic of the Buddha under his personal care in one of the monasteries in his capital, Kanauj, his efforts for the propagation of Mahāyāna Buddhism and his friendship with Hiuen-tsang clearly prove that Buddhism was the prevailing religion in different parts of his empire, although in Kośambī, Śrāvastī and Vaiśālī, it declined.

Hiuen-tsang[81] refers to the existence of Buddhist monasteries and the condition of other religions in different parts of the kingdom of Kanauj at the time of his visit:

1. Ku-lu-to or Kullu: There were in the country twenty Buddhist monasteries. ...of Deva-temples there were fifteen and the professed non-Buddhists lived pell-mell. (Watters, I, 298; Beal, I, 177).

2. She-to-tu-lu (Śatadru country) or Sirhind: In and about the capital were ten monasteries, but they were desolate.... (Watters, I, 299; Beal, I, 178).
3. Sa-ta-ni-ssu-fa-lo (Sthānvīśvara) or Thāneśwara: There were three Buddhist monasteries .... There were also 100 Deva-temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous. (Watters, I, 314; Beal, I, 183-84).
4. Su-lu-kin-na or Srughna: There were five Buddhist monasteries .... There were 100 Deva-temples, and the non-Buddhists were very numerous. (Watters, I, 318; Beal, I, 188).
5. Po-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo or Brahmapura: There were five Buddhist monasteries...; there were, above ten Deva-temples and the sectarians lived pell-mell. (Watters, I, 329; Beal, I, 198).
6. Ku-pi-sang-na or Govisāna: There were two Buddhist monasteries.... Of Deva-temples there were above 30, and the sectarians lived pell-mell. (Watters, I, 331; Beal, I, 200).
7. Ngo-hi-chi-ta-lo (Ahicchatra) or eastern part of Rohilkhand: There were above ten Buddhist monasteries..., Deva-temples were nine in number, and there were above 300 professed adherents of the other systems, Pāśupatas who worshipped Īśvara (Śiva). (Watters, I, 331; Beal, I, 200).
8. Pi-lo-shan-na or Atranjikhera: There were two Buddhist monasteries .... There were five Deva-temples and the sectarians lived pell-mell. (Watters, I, 332; Beal, I, 201).
9. Kah-pi-t'a (Kapittha) or Sankāsya: There were four Buddhist monasteries .... The Deva-temples were ten in number and the non-Buddhists, who lived pell-mell were Śaivites. (Watters, I, 333; Beal, I, 202).
10. Ka-no-ku-she or Kānyakubja: There were 100 Buddhist monasteries .... There were more than 200 Deva-temples and the non-Buddhists were thousands in number. (Watters, I, 340; Beal, I, 207).
11. A-ye-te or Ayodhyā: There were above 100 Buddhist monasteries.... There were ten Deva-temples, and the non-Buddhists were few in number. (Watters, I, 355; Beal, I, 225).
12. A-ye-mu-k'a (Hayamukha), i.e., Daundiakhera: There were five Buddhist monasteries ... and there were more than ten Deva-temples. (Watters, I, 359; Beal, I, 230).
13. Po-lo-ya-ka or Prayāga: There were only two Buddhist monasteries.... There were some hundreds of Deva-temples and the majority of the inhabitants were non-Buddhists. (Watters, I, 361; Beal, I, 230).

14. Kiao-shang-mi or Kośambī: There were more than ten Buddhist monasteries.... There were more than fifty Deva-temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous. (Watters, I, 366; Beal, I, 235).
15. Pi-sho-ka (unidentified): It had above twenty Buddhist monasteries .... There were above 50 Deva-temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous. (Watters, I, 373; Beal, I, 239-40).
16. Shi-lo-fa-si-tu or Śrāvastī: There were some hundreds of Buddhist monasteries .... There were 100 Deva-temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous. (Watters, I, 377; Beal, II, 2).
17. Lan-mo (Rāma) or Rāmagrāma: Hiuen-tsang mentions that there was a Śrāmaṇera monastery (Watters, II, 20 ff; Beal, II, 26 ff).
18. Kau-shih-na-ka-lo or Kuśīnagara: Hiuen-tsang refers to a number of Buddhist topes.
19. Po-lo-na-sa or Banavāsī or Vārāṇasī: There were above thirty Buddhist monasteries .... Of Deva-temples there were 100, and there were more than 10,000 professed adherents of the sects, the majority being devotees of Śiva; some of these cut off their hair; others made it into a top-knot; some went naked and some besmeared themselves with ashes; they were persevering in austerities seeking release from mortal existence. (Watters, II, 47; Beal, II, 44-45).
20. Chan-chu country (Ghajipur district): There were above ten Buddhist establishments.... There were twenty Deva-temples, and the followers of the different non-Buddhist systems dwelt pell-mell. (Watters, II, 59; Beal, II, 61).
21. Fei-she-hi or Vaiśālī: The Buddhist establishments of which there were some hundreds, were, with the exception of three or four, dilapidated and deserted ... . There were some tens of Deva-temples, the various sects lived pell-mell, and the Digambaras flourished. (Watters, II, 63; Beal, II, 66).
22. Fu-li-chih or the Vriji country: There were few Buddhists and the monasteries were above ten in number .... There were some tens of Deva-temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous. (Watters, II, 81; Beal, II, 78).
23. Mo-kie-to or Magadha: There were above fifty Buddhist monasteies .... There were some tens of Deva-temples, and the adherents of the various sects were very numerous (Watters, II, 86-87; Beal, II, 82).

24. I-lan-na-po-fa-to or Monghyr: There were above ten Buddhist monasteries.... There were above twenty Deva-temples and the adherents of the various religions lived pell-mell. (Watters, II, 178; Beal, II, 186).
25. Chan-po (Campa) i.e., Bhagalpur: There were some tens of monasteries mostly in ruins.... (Watters, II, 161; Beal, II, 192).
26. Ka-chu-wen k'ilo (Kajangala), i.e., Rajmahal: There were six or seven Buddhist monasteris.... The Deva-temples were ten in number and the various systems lived pell-mell. (Watters, II, 183; Beal, II, 193).
27. Pun-na-fa-tan-na or Puṇḍravardhana: There were twenty Buddhist monasteries ... the Deva-temples were 100 in number, and the followers of the various sects lived pell-mell; the Digambara Nirgranthas being very numerous. (Watters, II, 184; Beal, II, 194).
28. San-mo-ta-cha or Samatata: It had more 30 Buddhist monasteries.... There were 100 Deva-temples, the various sects lived pell-mell, and the Digambara Nirgranthas were very numerous. (Watters, II, 187; Beal, II, 199).
29. Ta-mo-lih-ti or Tāmralipti : Of Deva-temple there were more than 50, and the non-Buddhists lived pell-mell. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries. (Watters, II, 190; Beal, II, 200).
30. Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na or Karṇasuvarṇa : There were more than ten Buddhist monasteries...; there were 50 Deva-temples, and the followers of the various religions were very numerous. (Watters, II, 191; Beal, II, 201).
31. Mu-tu (Oḍra) or Orissa: There were 100 Buddhist monasteries. Of Deva-temples, there were 50, and the various sects lived pell-mell (Watters, II, 193; Beal, II, 204).
32. Kong-yu-to (Kongoda) or Ganjam: The people were not Buddhists. Deva-temples were above 100 in number, and of Tīrthikas there more than 10,000. (Watters, II, 196; Beal, II, 206).

Thus Hiuen-tsang's above record show us that Buddhism, Brahmanism and Jainism prospered in the kingdom of Harṣavardhana during his reign.

Genealogy

The Vardhanas of Thāneśwara[82]

Ādityavardhana (*c.* AD 565)

Prabhākaravardhana (AD 583-605)

Rājyavardhana (AD 605)

Harṣavardhana (AD 606-48)

The Vardhanas of Thāneśwara[83]

Puṣyabhūti or Puṣpabhūti—Remote ancestor of Harṣa, according to Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita.*

Naravardhana

Rājyavardhana, son of Naravardhana

Ādityavardhana, son of Rājyavardhana

Prabhākaravardhana

Rājyavardhana

Harṣavardhana

It is to be noted here that the Vardhana rulers up to Rājyavardhana ruled in Thāneśwara only. But Harṣavardhana transferred his capital from Thāneśwara to Kanauj after the murder of his sister Rājyaśrī's Maukhari husband Grahavarman.[84]

References

[1]*Harṣha*, 9.
[2]Beal, I, 210-13.
[3]Ibid., I, 213; Grousset, 195.
[4]Beal, I, 213.
[5]*CA*, 114.
[6]Beal, I, 213.
[7]Ibid.
[8]*HAI*, 309.
[9]*EI*, I, IV, Banskhera Plate of Harṣa, I. 7.
[10]*HAI*, 310.
[11]Ibid.
[12]*SBCI*, 32.
[13]Ibid., Hwui Li, 82-83.
[14]*Harṣa*, 146, fn 1.
[15]Beal, I, 213-14.
[16]Grousset, 196.
[17]Ibid., 198.
[18]Ibid.
[19]Ibid.
[20]Ibid.
[21]*HAI*, 307; *CA*, 119.
[22]*HAI*, 307; *CA*, 119.
[23]*CA*, 119.
[24]*Harṣa*, 79.
[25]Ibid.
[26]Ibid.
[27]Beal, I, 214-21.
[28]Sen, 173-74; *HNEI*, 275-98.
[29]*HNEI*, 287.
[30]Ibid., 287.
[31]*Harṣa*, 147.
[32]*HAI*, 308.
[33]Beal, I, 233.
[34]Hwui Li, 184.
[35]Beal, I, 233.
[36]Hwui, Li, 185; *HAI*, 308.
[37]Hwui Li, 186-87.
[38]Hwui Li, 186; Beal, I, 233; Sen, 173; *HAI*, 308.
[39]Hwui Li, 186; Beal, I, 233; Sen, 308.
[40]Hwui Li, Beal, I, 233; Sen, 308.
[41]Hwui Li, 186.
[42]Ibid., 186; *HAI*, 308.
[43]Hwui Li, 186; *HAI*, 308.
[44]*HAI*, 308.
[45]Ibid., 309; Hwui Li, 187.
[46]*HAI*, 309; Hwui Li, 186.
[47]*HAI*, 308.
[48]Hwui Li, 187.
[49]Ibid.
[50]*HAI*, 308.
[51]Hwui Li, 185.
[52]Sen, 174.
[53]*SBCI*, 33.
[54]Ibid.
[55]Ibid., Sen, 171; *Harṣa*, 145.
[56]*SBCI*, 33.
[57]*HAI*, 312.
[58]*SBCI*, 33
[59]Beal, I, 222.
[60]Ibid.
[61]Ibid.
[62]Ibid.
[63]Ibid.

[64]Hwui Li, 183; *HAI*, 310; *Harṣa*, 145. [65]Hwui Li, 183. [66]Ibid., 160. [67]Ibid.; *Harṣa*, 145. [68]Grousset, 123-24. [69]The Buddha. [70]Watters, I, 162. [71]Ibid., 164. [72]*Harṣa*, 125-27. [73]Ibid., 147. [74]Ibid., 149; Hwui Li, 175. [75]*Harṣa*, 176. [76]Ibid., 182. [77]*HAI*, 311. [78]Ibid., 310. [79]Ibid., 311. [80]Ibid., 310. [81]*HKMC*, 168-72. [82]*Harṣa*, 65. [83]*HKMC*, 380-81. [84]Ibid., 381.

THE MAITRAKAS

Towards the end of the fifth century AD (AD 490) Bhaṭārka,[1] a chief of the Maitraka clan of foreign origin, established himself at Valabhī in the east of the peninsula of Surāṣṭra (Kāṭhiāwār), and founded a dynasty known as the Maitraka dynasty.[2] It ruled until about AD 770, when Arab invaders from Sind overthrew it.[3] The earlier kings of Valabhī did not rule independently. They paid a tribute to the Hūṇas. But after the decline of the Hūṇa dominion, they declared their independence and became very powerful in the west of India both on the mainland and in the peninsula of Surāṣṭra.[4] Bhaṭārka's immediate successor was Dharasena I. Both of them had the title of Senāpati or general. Dharasena I was succeeded by Droṇasiṃha, who was the second son of Bhaṭārka (AD 502-3).[5] He took the title of Mahārāja.

It is known from historical records that a branch of the Maitraka dynasty in the later half of the sixth century AD established itself in Mo-la-po (Mālavaka) or western Mālwā.[6] Its rulers conquered the region of the Sahya and Vindhya mountains.[7] But another branch did not move anywhere. It continued to rule at Valabhī. Bhaṭārka's third son was Dhruvasena I. He succeeded his brother Droṇasiṃha. The next ruler was Dharapada (or Dharapaṭṭa). He was the fourth son of Bhaṭārka. It is interesting to note here that in all grants later than those of Dharasena II, the name of Guhasena immediately follows that of Bhaṭārka in the genealogy of the family, the names of the four intervening rulers Dharasena I, Droṇasiṃha, Dhruvasena I and Dharapada (or Dharapaṭṭa) being altogether dropped.[9] Two plates of Dhruvasena I were found. They record a gift by Dhruvasena I to a Brāhmaṇa residing in Ānarttapura. They properly consist of some *pādāvarttas* of land in the Sopokendraka-maṇḍalī. But this has not yet been identified.[10] The Alina copper-plate inscription of Śīlāditya VII of the year 447 (AD 766-67) was found in Alina, a village about 14 miles north-east of Nāḍiāḍ the chief town of the Nāḍiāḍ taluk or sub-division of the Kaira (Kheḍe) district in Gujarat.[11] It describes: "In unbroken descent from the most devout worshipper of

the (god) Maheśvara, the illustrious Bhaṭārka—who was possessed glory acquired in a hundred battles fought with the large armies, possessed of unequalled strength of the Maitrakās, who had by force bowed down their enemies; and who acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (his) hereditary servants, who had been brought under subjection by (his) splendour, and who had been acquired by gifts and honourable treatment and straight forwardness and were attached (to him) by affection...."[12] It then mentions that the next ruler was Guhasena, who was the most devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara.[13]

The grant of king Guhasena of Valabhī[14] is important for a study of Buddhism in Valabhī. J.G. Bühler states, "It gives an important contribution towards the history of Buddhism in Valabhī. We find that the convent (monastery) founded by Duddā, the sister's daughter of Dhruvasena I continued to flourish and to enjoy the protection of the rulers. The mention of the 18 Buddhist schools which were represented in Duddā's convent is also of importance because it confirms a statement made by Hiuen-tsang. The latter says that (*Memoire*, II, 162) in the hundred convents of Valabbī the Hīnayāna was chiefly studied. Now the 18 schools of our grant can only refer to the Hīnayāna, because this division of Buddhism is known to have been cultivated in that number of Nikāyas."[15] Valabhī was an important centre of Hīnayāna studies. The grant 16 describes: "(His son is) the devotee of Maheśvara, the illustrious Mahārāja Guhasena, who proved his courage by splitting the temples of the rutting elephants of his enemies, the rays of whose footnails mingle with the glitter of the crest-jewels of his enemies who are prostrate before him in consequence of his power, who gives its proper significance to his title rājā (winner of hearts), since he won the hearts of his subjects by carefully keeping to the path described in all the Smṛtis who in beauty surpasses cupid, in splendour the moon, in firmness the lord of mountains, in depth the ocean, in wisdom the preceptor of the gods, in richness the lord of wealth, who intent on affording safety to those seeking refuge with him, cares not a straw for his own interest, who rejoices the hearts of the learned and of his affectionate friends by granting them more wealth than their prayers demand—who is as it were the incarnate delight of the whole world. (He) being in good health, addresses these commands, to all his servants and officials, heads of towns, heads of villages, fortune-tellers, soldiers, his faithful judges, police officers, princes and ministers representing the royalty and so forth, as well as to (all) others whatever their connection (with the government) may be:

"Be it known unto you, that in order to obtain for my parents and

for myself benefits in this life and the next according to my desires, I have granted, (confirming my gift) by pouring out water, to the community of the reverend Śākya monks, belonging to the 18 schools (of the Hīnayāna) whohave come from various directions to the great convent of Duddā built by the venerable Duddā and situated... in order to procure food, clothing, seats, remedies and medicines for the sick and so forth,—the following four villages—Samāpaṭṭavaṭaka, situated between Anumauji and Pippalarunkhari and Sangamānaka, in the township of Maṇḍalī as well as Naḍḍiyā and Cossarī in Detakahāra with ... with ... with the revenue in dry and green (produce), corn and gold with the right to forced labour arising (therefrom) according to the analogy of the familiar instance of the grand and the cleft.

Wherefrom no obstruction should be made to him, who, by virtue of his belonging to the community of the reverend Śākya monks enjoys (these villages), tills (the land) or causes it to be tilled. And the future worthy kings of our race, understanding the instability of power, the frailty of humanity, and the benefits derived from gifts of land which are common (to all protracting them), should consent to and protect this our grant; and he who takes it or allows it to be taken away shall obtain the punishments of the five (kinds of) evil acts, and, living in the three (kinds of) existences, shall be guilty of the five mortal sins as well as the minor sins.

(It has) also (been declared): what good man would resume property which out of fear of poverty kings have given for pious purposes and which resembles leavings and vomited (food)?

Many kings as Sagara and others have enjoyed the earth. To him possesses the earth belongs the fruit thereof...."[16]

Another grant of Guhasena of Saṃvat 268 (AD 588) was found.[17] In line 2 there is a reference to the illustrious king Guhasena who is called Paramopāsaka, "Paramopāsaka Mahārājaśrī Guhasena", "the ardent devotee of the Buddha."[18] This shows that this ruler actually accepted Buddhism as his religion and was converted to it. Because the first grant of Guhasena, mentioned above, called himself Paramāmaheśvara. This clearly indicates that he was a devout worshipper of the Lord Maheśvara.

The donee of this grant was the community of foreign monks belonging to the 18 schools (of the Hīnayāna) and lived in the Abhyantarika vihāra which was built by the venerable Miṃmā, who like the venerable Duddā, was a Buddhist nun.[19] The monastery was situated close to the monastery of Bhaṭārka presented to the Rājasthānīya Sūra. This indicates that Bhaṭārka, the founder of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhī, already showed his great faith towards

Buddhism. Though he was a devout follower of Śaivism, it is very probable that he allowed other religions to develop in his kingdom. This Bhaṭārka vihāra must afterwards have been alienated from its original destination as the phrase '*rājasthānīyasūrāyaprasā-dikṛta*' shows.[20] This grant says, "The object granted is *Vaṭasthalikāprāyīyabahumūlāgrāmekutumbisiyā maneragopakacchendavakadasakāstrāyaḥ*", "the income (*āya*) (to be paid) by the Kaṇabi Syāmaṇera, the herdsman Ceṇḍavaka and the Dāsaka Astra in the village of Bahumulā belonging to Vaṭasthalikāprāya."[21]

The grant also informs us that two officers were present when king Guhasena addressed his commands. They were the custom house officers who collected the dues.[22] The other officer was Rājasthānīya, "he who carried out the object of protecting subjects and sheltered them is called a Rājasthānīya or Viceroy."

Guhasena was succeeded by his son Dharasena II, the devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara.[23] Two plates of Dharasena II were found. They mention that the grant was issued by Dharasena II.[24] The beneficiary was some Buddhist monastery in Valabhī.[25] The property granted to the monastery was situated in the village Hariyāṇaka.[26] The purpose for which the grant was issued is, as usual with Buddhist grants, to provide for the worship of the Buddhas, for the lodging, boarding etc. of the inmates of the monastery and for its repairs.[27] Another two plates of Dharasena II dated (Gupta) Saṃvat 270 (AD 590) were discovered.[28] From them we learn that Dharasena II was the donor of the grant. He granted the village Uṭṭapālaka situated near Sudattabhaṭṭānaka in Surāṣṭra. "The grant is for the following three-fold purpose: (1) the worship of the image of the Buddha; (2) the hospitality (clothing, food and medicine) of the revered *Bhikkhus*; and (3) the repairs of the monastery."[29] Another grant of Dharasena II was found.[30] It informs us that the grantee was the "monastery called that of Śrī Bappapāda". The Ācārya Bhadanta Sthiramati constructed it in Valabhī. The purpose for which the two villages were granted is, as usual in the case of grants to Buddhist monasteries, to defray the cost of the worship of the Divine Buddhas, of clothing, food, and medicine, for the reverend *Bhikkhus*, and of the repairs of the monastery.[31] Dharasena II granted two villages. They were: Maheśvaradāsenaka in the *āharaṇī* of Hastvapra and Devabhadripallikā in the *sthalī* of Dhārākatha. According to scholars, Hastvapra or Hastakavapra was the modern Hathab. Maheśvaradhāsenaka was Mahādevapura which was situated in the south-west of Hathab.[32]

Dharasena II was succeeded by his son Śilāditya I who acquired the second name Dharmāditya by the pursuit of wealth, happiness and

riches illumined by conformity with religion.[33] The Alina copper-plate inscription of Śilāditya VII of the year 447 (AD 767) refers to Śilāditya I as the devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara.[34]

A plate of a grant of Śilāditya I alias Dharmāditya of (Gupta) Saṃvat 286 (AD 606-7) was found in Valā.[35] From it we learn that the beneficiary was the Buddhist monastery situated in Vaṃśakaṭa. It is very probable that the property granted to the monastery was situated in the Kalāpaka-pāṭhaka. But nothing much is known from the grant about Buddhism in Valabhī. Because the description of the grant is lost. Two plates of the grant of Śilāditya (alias Dharmāditya) of Saṃvat 290 (AD 610) was found.[36] "This is a Buddhist grant and the beneficiary is the monastery built by the grantor King Śilāditya (alias Dharmāditya) himself, in the Svatala of Vaṃśakaṭa.... The property granted to the vihāra consisted of 2 villages, one of which named Vyāghradinnānaka was situated in the Saraka (or Akṣasaraka) district. The name of other village as well as the district in which it was included is illegible...."[37] This grant gives us information that king Śilāditya I himself built a Buddhist monastery near his palace. From it we draw a conclusion that King Śilāditya I like Guhasena in later life embraced Buddhism and played a prominent role for its progress in his kingdom.

The Bhadreniyaka Grant of Śilāditya I of Gupta era 292 (AD 610-11) was found.[38] The inscription refers itself to the reign of King Śilāditya I who was the son of the illustrious Dharasena, who was the son of the illustrious Guhasena, all of whom are mentioned as devout worshipper of Śiva.[39] The grant was issued from the victorious camp at Devīsaras. According to this grant, two hundred *pādāvarttas* of land in the village of Bhadreniyaka in the Bārā Vanasthalī were given for the worship of the Sun-god established in the village. Out of these two hundred *pādāvarttas* one hundred lay to the east of the arable land received as a gift and owned by the Brāhmaṇa Prabhāndata, to the south of the arable land received as a gift and owned by a (Brāhmaṇa named) Rudra, to the north of the Daṇḍaka (chain of hills ?) called Baraṭikā and to the west of junction of the boundary of the village of Goppara-vāṭaka. Of the remaining hundred *pādāvarttas* the boundaries are not specified, but it was a piece of land *(lava)* at the same village originally set apart for the purpose of charity *(bhaikṣaka)* and now made over to the Sun-temple along with the other piece of land. The land was granted for the maintenance of worship and its other accessories, viz., bath, sandal, flowers, lamp-oil, vocal and instrumental music and dances, the cost of sacrifices and offerings, the maintenance of the servants of the god and the cost of repairing any damages.[40] It is to be noted here that the places mentioned in the inscription have not yet been identified.

From Hiuen-tsang's account we learn that one Śilāditya, who occupied the throne about 60 years before his visit to India, was a devout Buddhist. Buddhism prospered in the Mālwā region under the patronage of King Śilāditya I Dharmāditya who seems to have vied with Aśoka in his religieux.[41] He established several Buddhist monasteries and offered gifts to many Buddhist establishments. Probably, for the performance of his meritorious deeds he assumed the title of Dharmāditya. He erected a large temple and established seven images of the Buddha in it. This King Śilāditya was in the habit of arranging annually a religious assembly in which were invited monks and sages from all quarters and the king presented them the robes and other valuables. In this religious assembly Śilāditya used to give lavished precious and rare articles, garments and gold pieces to the monks and sages.[42] He was so careful an observer of the doctrine of *ahiṃsā* as to supply strained water to his elephants and horses, and himself never killed even an ant. He constructed temporary residences on the largest and the grandest scale and made pious gifts.[43] In the kingdom of Śilāditya I was a small town called Brāhmaṇapura, so called because a proud Brāhmaṇa who had been defeated in debate by Bhikṣu Bodhiruci, a consummate logician and well-versed in the non-Buddhist Śāstras, went down alive into a pit in this day.[44] Several Maitraka rulers bore the epithet 'Śilāditya' or 'Sun of Morality' and they were great patrons of Buddhism. According to several scholars, this Śilāditya of the above account was the Maitraka king Śilāditya I Dharmāditya of Valabhī, who ruled from AD 606 to 612.[45] Śilāditya I bore the epithet 'Dharmāditya' 'the Sun of Righteousness'. One of his inscription refers to a grant to the Buddhist monastery of Vaṃsakaṭa.[46]

The next ruler was Kharagraha I, who was the younger brother of Śilāditya I Dharmāditya. The former was the devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara.[47] He was succeeded by his son Dharasena III. He was a devotee of the Lord Śiva.[48] Dhr vasena II, who was his younger brother, succeeded him.[49] He was the most devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara. The Alina copperplate inscription of Śilāditya VII says, "his famous second name of Bālāditya was established as one of the appropriated meaning, though the whole world being pervaded by the affection of mankind that was produced by his rising."[50] Dhruvasena II Bālāditya or Dhruvabhaṭa of Valabhī in the seventh century AD married the daughter of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj.

The grant of Dhruvasena II of Saṃvat 310 (AD 630) was found.[51] It was issued from Valabhī. The grantor Dhruvasena II called also Bālāditya did not assume the title Mahārāja. The grantee was a

community of the reverend *Bhikkhus* dwelling in the monastery built by princess Duddā and situated in Valabhī proper. Duddā was Dhruvasena I's sister's daughter.[52] The object of the record is to grant the village Bhasanta in Kālāpakapatha in Surāṣṭra. Hiuen-tsang says that the country Surāṣṭra was subject to the kingdom of Valabhī.[53]

Dhruvasena II was a nephew of King Śilāditya of Mālavā. In about AD 639 he was a ruler of Valabhī.[54] He was a devout Buddhist. He was a typical personality, hasty and impulsive by nature, heavy and dull in manners, but he respected virtue and promoted learning. Although he was "an Eternal Warrior" (Dhruvabhaṭa), yet he was a devout Buddhist; deeply given to the *tri-ratna*; he convoked a great assembly annually and, for seven days entertained monks from all over the country and bestowed on them food of the best description, choice jewels, bedding and clothes, with varieties of medicaments and other things of different kinds.[55]

The next ruler was Dharasena IV (AD 645-49), who was Dhruvasena II Bālāditya's son. He had the titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara and Cakravartī.[56] He was the most devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara.

The Alina copperplate inscription of Śilāditya VII of the year 447 (AD 767) says: "of the son of the illustrious Śilāditya I who was the (elder) brother of his father's father (Kharagraha I) and who was as it were the (god) Śārṅgapāṇi of the illustrious Derabhaṭa—the son was the most devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara, the illustrious Dhruvasena III."[57] The grant of Dhruvasena III was found.[58] It was issued by king Dhruvasena III. He assumed no royal titles. Only the religious epithet 'Parama Maheśvara' was used before his name. The beneficiary was the Buddhist monastery which was built by Duddā in the *svatala* of Valabhī. For the maintenance of the inmates of the monastery a village named Rākṣasaka included in the Kāśahrada was granted.[59]

The next ruler was Kharagraha II who was Dhruvasena III's elder brother.[60] The Alina copperplate inscription of Śilāditya VII of the year 447 (AD 767) says, "His elder brother was the most devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara, the illustrious Kharagraha II, who in a very clear and suitable manner, had the second name of Dharmāditya. He did his worship to the gods and Brāhmaṇas and spiritual preceptors."[61]

Śilāditya II ascended the throne after Kharagraha II Dharmāditya. The next ruler was his son the glorious Śilāditya III. He was a devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara.[62] A grant of Śilāditya III of (Gupta) Saṃvat 343 (AD 663) was found in Walā (Kāṭhiāwār).[63] It

refers to a grant to the Buddhist monastery of Vimalagupta. It says that the beneficiary was the Buddhist monastery constructed by the Ācārya Bhikṣu Vimalagupta of the village Kukkurāṇaka. It was situated inside the monastery of the Ācārya Bhikṣu Sthiramati. It seems that the village granted to the vihāra was Sīhānaka and was included in the Bāvasanakasthalī in Surāṣṭra. For the maintenance of the monastery and its inmates the village was granted by King Śilāditya III. Another grant of Śilāditya III was discovered.[64] It was issued by King Śilāditya III, who is referred to as Parameśvara and had no royal titles. It describes that the beneficiary was some Buddhist monastery included in the monastery of the queen Duddā. Another grant of Śilāditya III of Gupta Saṃvat 356 (AD 676) was discovered.[65] It was issued by Śilāditya III and the grantee was the Buddhist monastery erected by the Ācārya Bhikṣu Vimalagupta of the village Kukkurāṇaka in the outskirts of the Duddā vihāra in Valabhī. A village called Kasaka in the province of Surāṣṭra was granted to the vihāra. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the worship of the Buddhas, and to meet the necessary expenses of the inmates of the monastery.

The Jesar plates of Śilāditya III of the year 347 (AD 667) was discovered at Jesar, a village in the Bhavanagar state of Kāṭhiāwār.[66] The subject of these plates is to recored the grant by the king himself, of one hundred *pādāvarttas* of land in the village of Kukkapadra in the *pāthaka* of Kalapaka of Surāṣṭra to a Brāhmaṇa with two names Saggala and Prakāśa who was an inhabitant of Valabhī. The land granted consisted of three pieces of which the first was the largest measuring seventy-three *pāḍāvarttas*. The boundaries of the second piece consisted of twelve *pāḍāvarttas* of land and the third piece consisted of fifteen *pāḍāvartta* measures of land. The Jesar plates of Śilāditya III of Saṃvat 357 (AD 677) was found in the village of Jesar in the Bhavanagar state of Kaṭhiāwār.[67] "The object of the inscription is to record the grant of: (i) a reservoir of water extending over twenty-five *pāḍāvarttas* of land from the royal domain land in the Medasarasthalī in the village of Madasara in Surāṣṭra to a Brahmin who was a Dīkṣita and was the son of Sāmbadatta of the Vājasneya Śākhā of the *Yajurveda* and of the Kauśika *gotra* and who had emigrated from Puṣyaśambapura and (ii) one hundred and four *pāḍāvarttas* of land, in five pieces, situated inthe northern boundary (of the village).... "[68] Another grant of Śilāditya III gives us indication about the existence of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism at Valabhī.[69]

The next ruler was Śilāditya IV.[70] He assumed the titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara. He was the devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara. He was succeeded by his son Śilādityadeva V, who was the most devout worshipper of (the

god) Maheśvara.[71] He had the titles Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara. His son was Śīlāditya VI, who was the most devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara.[72] He assumed the titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārajādhirāja and Parameśvara. Śilādityadeva VII succeeded his father Śīlāditya VI.[73] He was a devotee of Maheśvara. He had the titles Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara. The Alina copperplate inscription of Śīlāditya VII of the year 447 (AD 767) was found in Alina, a village about 14 miles north-east of Nāḍiāḍ of the Kaira district in Gujarat.[74] It informs us that Śīlāditya VII had the title of Dhruvabhaṭa. The object of the inscription is to record the grant by Śīlāditya VII himself to a Brāhmaṇa for the maintenance of the great sacrifices and other rites of the village of Mahilabalī in the Uppalaheta *pāthaka* (Uplet) in Kheṭaka (the modern Kheḍā or Kaira).[75] For the purpose of increasing the religious merit, the village named Mahilabalī with the Udraṅga and the Uparikāra and with the revenue of the Bhuta and Vāta to the Bhaṭṭa Akhaṇḍalamitra, the son of the Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇu who was an inhabitant of the town of Ānandapura was granted by the king. Śīlāditya VII also played an important role for the development of Buddhism in his kingdom. He for the foundation of a library and for the ceremonies of the Buddha worship gave grants.[75]

Hiuen-tsang visited Valabhī in the seventh century AD. He says that "the city was a place of great wealth", and "was famous in the Buddhist Church History as having been the residence of two distinguished teachers Gunamati and Sthiramati, in the sixth century AD."[77] He found in Valabhī about 100 Buddhist monasteries with 6,000 Buddhist monks, but they were out numbered by several hundreds of Deva-temples with followers of various sects.[78] In Ānandapura there were ten monasteries but it had numerous heretical temples.[79] I-tsing mentions: "Another Buddhist centre of higher education in India which rivalled Nālandā in fame, was in the city of Vallbhī or Vallbhipura in Walā state of Kāṭhiāwār."[80] He also gives an account of Valabhī which occupied an important place in the history of Buddhism as an important centre of Buddhist studies. He describes further: "In his time Nālandā in South Bihar and Valabhī were the two places in India which deserved comparison with the most famous centres of learning in China and were frequented by crowds of eager students, who commonly devoted two or three years to attendance at lectures on Buddhist philosophy."[81] From the above facts V.A. Smith concludes: "This statement explains the assertion of Hiuen-tsang that Mo-la-p'o or western Mālavā (Mālwa) and Magadha were the two countries of India in which learning was prized, because Valabhī and Mo-la-p'o were then politically one, both territories apparently being

under the government of Dhruvabhaṭa, the son-in-law of Harṣavardhana, paramount sovereign of Northern India."[82] Valabhī was regarded as one of the most famous centres of Buddhist learning and monastic life in the 7th and 8th centuries AD. From Hiuen-tsang, I-tsing and other epigraphic records we learn that Valabhī occupied an important place in the history of Buddhism in these centuries of the Christian era. It was an important centre of the Sammitīya school. C.V. Vaidya says, "The extent of the dominion of Valabhī was not wide. It included, however, a great of Kāṭhiāwār and of Gujarat, Kaira district and some portions of western Mālwā also, as is apparent from some of their grants. The smallness of the kingdom may explain to some extent why Valabhī fell so easily before the Arabs. Of course the immediate explanation is the treachery Raṅka. But we may also add a third explanation viz., the unwarlike character of the people and even the rulers which must have resulted from the wide spread of the Buddhistic principles, chiefly the principle of *ahiṃsā* of which Gujarat is even now the stronghold. Gujarat appears to have imbibed this principle during the rule of many kings including Śīlāditya of Mo-la-p'o described by Hiuen-tsang."[83]

Princess Duddā, the daughter of Dhruvasena I's sister, constructed the first building of the monastic college of Valabhī.[84] There were other building of this monastic establishment which were known as the Ābhyantarika vihāra of venerable Mimmā and the Bappapada vihāra of Bhadanta Sthiramati.[85] Acala who was an *arhat* also built another monastic college not far from the city of Valabhī.[86] In the seventh century Dhruvabhaṭa was the greatest patron of this University.[87] "Just as Nālandā specialized in Mahāyāna studies so the University of Valabhī was the rival centre for Hīnayāna studies, the most of its scholars studied the Little Vehicle. Hiuen-tsang found about a hundred monastic buildings in Valabhī, the strength of the monk-students amounted to six thousand. Names of three most important scholars who had received higher education in the University of Valabhī are known to us; they were Jayasena, a native of Surāṣṭra, Guṇamati and Sthiramati; all these scholars subsequently lived in or around the Nālandā Mahāvihāra, Hwui-Li says that "the dominant system studied in Valabhī was that of the Sammitīya school of the Hīnayāna. From I-tsing's account we gather that Valabhī like Nālandā imparted higher education on secular subjects also. These were the two academics in India where eminent and accomplished men assembled in crowds, discussed possible and impossible doctrines and after having been assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men, became famous in India.... To try the sharpness of their wit, they proceed to the king's court to lay down before

it the sharp weapon of their abilities; there they present their scheme and show their political talent, seeking to be appointed in the practical government. On being proved successful, they were advanced to high rank and could follow whatever profession they liked. Their famous names were written in white on their lofty gates. This account would indicate that these two Universities turned out not only Buddhist Doctors, but also statesman, administrators, and

The Maitraka Dynasty of Valabhī[88]

- Bhaṭārka
  - Dharasena I Senāpati
  - Droṇasiṃha Mahārāja
  - Dhruvasena I
  - Dharapatta
    - Guhasena
      - Dharasena II
        - Śilāditya I Dharmāditya
          - Devabhaṭa
            - Śilāditya
              - Śilāditya II
                - Śilāditya III
                  - Śilādityadeva IV
                    - Śilādityadeva V
                      - Śilādityadeva VI
                        - Śilādityadeva VII
            - Kharagraha II Dharmāditya
            - Dhruvasena III
        - Kharagraha
          - Dharasena III
          - Dhruvasena II Bālāditya
            - Dharasena IV

economists who received appointments in royal courts and governments."[89] From epigraphical evidence we learn that the Valabhī University maintained a library which was financed by the royal wealth. The citizens of Valabhī also contributed largely to the Valabhī University for the advancement of learning. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva also refers to the great academic fame of Valabhī.[90] It is known that even the Brāhmaṇas of Gangetic plain used to send their sons to Valabhī for higher studies.

REFERENCES

[1]*EHI*, 332; *PHAI*, 629: "The original and more authentic form of the name is Bhaṭakka, Bhaṭārka is a Sanskritized spelling." —Ibid., 332, fn 2.

[2]*EHI*, 332; *PHAI*, 629. [3]*EHI*, 332. [4]Ibid.

[5]*PHAI*, 629. [6]Ibid. [7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid., 629-30, fn 4. H.C. Raychaudhuri says: "Dharasena II, king of Valabhī, left two sons, viz., Śilāditya and Kharagraha I. The account of Hiuen-tsang seems to suggest that in his time (i.e. shortly after Śilāditya) the Maitraka dominions split up into two parts, one part including Mo-la-p'o and its dependencies probably obeying the line of Śilāditya-Dharmāditya, the other part, including Valabhī, obeying Kharagraha and his sons, one of whom Dhruvasena II, Bālāditya or Dhruvabhaṭa, who married the daughter of Harṣa of Kanauj. The account of the Chinese pilgrim seems to receive confirmation from the Alina plate of Śilāditya VII (Fleet, *CII*, 171f, esp. 182 n) which associates Derabhaṭa, the son of Śilāditya I Dharmāditya, with the region of the Sahya and Vindhya mountains. While the descendants of Kharagraha I are connected with Valabhī. The Navalakhi and Nogāwā plates, however, suggest that occasionally the same ruler governed both Mālavaka and Valabhī. In the latter half of the seventh century AD the line of Kharagraha I became extinct, and the Maitraka dominions were once more united..."

[8]*EHI*, 630. [9]*JBBRASNS*, I, 1925, 24. [10]Ibid., 16.

[11]*CII*, III, 180. [12]Ibid. [13]Ibid., 180-81.

[14]*IA*, IV, 1875, 174 ff. [15]Ibid., 174. [16]Ibid., 175-76.

[17]*IA*, V, 1876, 206. [18]Ibid. [19]Ibid.

[20]Ibid. [21]Ibid. [22]Ibid., 217.

[23]*CII*, III, 181. [24]*JBBRASNS*, I, 1925, 21. [25]Ibid.

[26]Ibid. [27]Ibid. [28]Ibid., 66.

[29]Ibid. [30]*IA*, VI, 1877, 9. [31]Ibid., 10.

[32]Ibid. [33]*CII*, III, 181. [34]Ibid.

[35]*JBBRASNS*, 1, 1925, 26. [36]Ibid., 31-32. [37]Ibid., 32.

[38]*EI*, XXI, 1931-32, 116-17. [39]Ibid., XXI, 116.

[40]Ibid., 117. [41]*DBCI*, 72. [42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid. [44]Watters, II, 242. [45]*SBCI*, 41, 72.

[46]Ibid., 41; *EI*, XIX-XXIII, 3, 221; *JBBRASNS*, I, 33 ff.

[47]*CII*, III, 181. [48]Ibid., 182. [49]Ibid., 162.

[50]Ibid., 182. [51]*IA*, VI, 1877, 12. [52]Ibid., 13.

[53]Ibid. [54]*ALINI*, 3; *HCIP*, III, 103.

[55]*SBCI*, 72-73; Hwui-Li, 145-50. [56]*PHAI*, 630; *CII*, III, 183.
[57]*CII*, III, 183-84. [58]*JBBRASNS*, I, 35. [59]Ibid., 35.
[60]*CII*, III, 184; *IA*, V, 1876, 208. [61]*CII*, III, 184.
[62]Ibid., 185. [63]*JBBRASNS*, I, 1925, 37. [64]Ibid., 40; *ALINI*, 185.
[65]*JBBRASNS*, I, 57-58. [66]*EI*, XXI, 1931-32, 208-9.
[67]Ibid., XXII, 1933-34, 114-15. [68]Ibid., 114.
[69]*IA*, V, 1876, 207-8. [70]*CII*, III, 185. [71]Ibid., 187.
[72]Ibid., III, 188. [73]Ibid., 189. [74]Ibid., 171.
[75]Ibid., 173. [76]*SBCI*, 42.
[77]*EHI*, 332-33; Watters, II, 245-46; Takakusu, 9.
[78]*SBCI*, 41; *DBI*, 9; *HAB*, III, 105. [79]*DBI*, 9.
[80]*SBCI*, 137. [81]*EHI*, 333. [82]Ibid.
[83]*HMHI*, 249. [84]*SBCI*, 137. [85]Ibid.
[86]Ibid., *IA*, IV, 174; V, 206, VI, 9 ff. [87]*SBCI*, 137.
[88]The Alina copperplates inscription of Śilāditya VII: the year 447, *CII*, III, 180-89; *HMHI*, I, 250.
[89]Ibid., 137-38. [90]Ibid., 138; *KSS*, XXXII, 42-43.

Chapter 8

Buddhism in Northern India after Harṣa

1. THE KINGDOM OF KĀMARŪPA

The later Purāṇas and the *Raghuvaṃśa* of Kālidāsa refer to Prāgjyotiṣa and Kāmarūpa as name of the old province of Assam.[1] R.G. Basak states: "That province included in the past, within its own boundaries in the west, portions of North Bengal, viz., part (if not whole) of the Kooch-Bihar state and of the Rangpur district, with the river Karatoya as the western boundary. Some portions of China and the Himalayan regions also formed its northern section and a portion of East Bengal was included in it towards the south-west."[2] The *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* describe Prāgjyotiṣa as a town.[3] They do not say that it was a country. Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṃśa* mentions that Kāmarūpa was a province and its capital was Prāgjyotiṣa.[4] The Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta gives the name of Kāmarūpa along with the names of other *pratyantya* states, such as Samataṭa, Davāka, Nepal and Kartripura.[5] From this inscription we learn that in the middle of the 4th century AD Kāmarūpa was not included in the Gupta empire but was regarded as one of the frontier states but paid tribute to the Gupta emperor.[6] It was about 10,000 *li* in circuit and its capital Prāgjyotiṣa was 30 *li*.[7]

The first prince of the Varman dynasty of Kāmarūpa was Puṣyavarman who probably flourished in the first half of the fourth century AD.[8] According to R.G. Basak, he ascended the throne in AD 355.[9] Most probably, he was a contemporary of Chandragupta I and his son Samudragupta.[10] After Puṣyavarman, we come to know the name of Samudravarman who was his son. He ascended the throne after him.[11] Like the natural Samudra, this Samudravarman was a king with his riches always displayed to view.[12] Balavarman succeeded him. He was a very powerful ruler and had a very strong army.[13] Kalyāṇavarman was his son. He occupied the throne after him.[14] He was then succeeded by Gaṇapati who was very virtuous and was known for his large charities.[15] His son was Mahendravarman who came to the throne after him. He was a great patron of sacrificial

performances *Yajñavidhānām-āspadam*.[16] He performed two horse sacrifices.[17] His son was Nārāyaṇavarman who succeeded his father.[18] His son was Mahābhūtavarman.[19] He captured the throne after his father. Candramukhavarman who was a son of Mahābhūtavarman (or Bhūtivarman) took the throne of Kāmarūpa.[20] He possessed a good knowledge of various arts which enabled him to dispel the ignorance of his own people.[21] He gave up his kingdom in favour of his son Sthitavarman who ascended the throne.[22] Then his son Susthitavarman (alias Śrīmṛgāṅka) became king.[23] The next ruler was Supratiṣṭhitavarman.[24] Then his younger brother, Bhāskaravarman of Kumāra captured the throne of Kāmarūpa.[25] He was regarded as the greatest ruler of the Varman dynasty of Kāmarūpa. His contemporary was Harṣavardhana of Thāneśwara-Kanauj.[26] He established an intimate friendship with Harṣa. Hiuen-tsang refers to Bhāskaravarman as a Brāhmaṇa by caste. Most probably, he was a Brahmanical Hindu in religion.[27] It is to be noted here that though he never showed his leaning towards Buddhism, but even then accomplished *śramaṇas* such as Hiuen-tsang himself received great honour and respect from him. He always gave due respect to them.[28] He was a descendant to the Vaiṣṇava family (Vaiṣṇava-*vaṃśaḥ*) and a devout worshipper of Maheśvara.[29] He and his people were follower of Śaivism and it became the state religion under his patronage.[30] It played a vital role in the religious history of Kāmarūpa. R.G. Basak says, "Bhāskaravarman is described in the Nidhanpur grant as being created by the creator for the purpose of re-establishing the institution of castes and orders, which had for a long time past become confused. He propagated, it is told there, the light of Āryyadharma by dispelling the darkness of the Kali age, by a proper expenditure of his revenue on good works of public utility. He caused the deep loyalty of his subjects to be heightened, on account of his power of keeping order, display of modesty and cultivation of close acquaintance with them. His gifts were bounteous, and he could be compared with Sibi for offering succour to the needy by self-sacrifice, and in the matter of timely application of the six political expedients he was as skilful as Bṛhaspati himself. His prowess, perseverence and pride were well-known. Free from the usual vices of kings, Bhāskaravarman was always given to performing virtuous deeds. He was an ideal monarch of the seventh century in eastern India."[31]

From Hiuen-tsang's account we learn about his visit to the kingdom of Kāmarūpa. V.A. Smith describes: "When he was staying for the second time at the Nālandā monastery, early in AD 643, he was compelled, much against his will, to pay a visit to the king of Kāmarūpa, who insisted on making the acquaintance of the renowned scholar, and would not take a refusal. After a short stay at the capital of Kāmarūpa, Harṣa Śilāditya, the Kanauj sovereign, sent a message commanding that Hiuen-tsang should be sent to him. The king replied that Harṣa might take his head if he could, but should not get his Chinese visitor. However, when Harṣa sent a peremptory order to the effect that he would trouble the king to send back his head by the messenger, that potentate, on second thoughts, deemed it advisable to comply with the request of his suzerain and hastened to meet Harṣa, bringing the pilgrim with him."[32]

When Hiuen-tsang came to Kāmarūpa as a guest of Bhāskaravarman to convert him and his people to Buddhism, he was not successful in his mission. Hiuen-tsang did not see any Aśokan monument in Kāmarūpa. L.M. Joshi says that the Chinese pilgrim saw only "faint traces of Buddhism in the kingdom of Kāmarūpa."[33] But some people think that a debased form of later Buddhism flourished in Kāmarūpa for several centuries.[34] There were many Deva-temples in Kāmarūpa. L.M. Joshi says, "The Assamese of Kāmarūpa worshipped the *devas* and did not believe in Buddhism. So there had never been a Buddhist monastery in the land, and whatever Buddhists there were in it performed their acts of devotion secretly."[35]

Śālastamba overthrew the line of Puṣyavarman or the Varman dynasty soon after Bhāskaravarman's reign and ruled in the latter part of the seventh century AD.[36] His son Vijaya succeeded him.[37] Then Pālaka, Kumāra and Vajradatta ruled in succession.[38] Then Harṣavarman became king of Kāmarūpa after Vajradatta or Vajradeva.[39] Harṣavarman was an accomplished and pious administrator, who ruled over his people without oppression because he regarded them as his own sons.[40] He was a great warrior and he conquered some other countries in eastern India.[41] H.C. Ray says that "... Srī Hariśa, the last prince in the line, according to the Tejpur plate of Vanamāla, is probably the same as Harṣavarman of the stray plate of Harjara."[42] The Tejpur plate mentions that it began with Śālastambha and ended with Śrī-Hariśa. Kielhorn identifies Śrī-Hariśa with Gauḍ-Oḍrādi-Kaliṅga-Kośalapati-Śrī-Harṣadeva of the Paśupati inscription of the Nepal Licchavi King Jayadeva Paracakrakāma.[43]

The dynasty of Prālambha ruled in Kāmarūpa after the line of Śālastambha.[44] The first ruler of this dynasty was Prālambha. The next ruler was Harjara, the son and successor of Prālambha. From the Tezpur Rock inscription of AD 829 we learn that Harjara lived in Harūppeśvara-pura.[45] He was a Parama Maheśvara. He was succeeded by his son Vanamāla, who ruled for 19 years. His seal and inscription show us that like his father he was a devotee of Śiva.[46] The

Nowgong copperplate grant of Balavarman mentions that Jayamāla succeeded Vanamāla in AD 900.[47] The next ruler was Balavarman (c. AD 925). The last ruler was Tyagasiṃha (c. AD 1000). It is very probable that these two rulers like other members of this dynasty were worshippers of Śiva.

The rulers, who came to power in Kamarūpa after the dynasty of Prālambha, were the Pālas of Kāmarūpa. H.C. Ray states, "As the names of the next group of princes who ruled in the Assam valley uniformly end in Pāla, it is convenient to designate them as the Pālas of Kāmarūpa. The transition of the royal power from Prālambha's successors to this new group is mentioned in the Bargaon grant of Ratnapāla. We are told that when Tyāgasiṃha, the twenty-first sovereign of Kāmarūpa, counting from Sālastamba, departed from this world without leaving any of his race to succeed him, his subjects thinking it well that a Bhauma (i.e., one of Naraka's race) should be appointed as their lord, chose Brahmapāla, a kinsman of the desceased ruler, on account of his fitness to undertake the government of the country."[48] Brahmapāla was the founder of this new dynasty. He was known as Mahārājādhirāja. His son Ratnapāla succeeded him. He had the titles—'Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja.'[49] The Bargaon grant of the reign of Ratnapāla opens in praise of Śiva's Tāṇḍava dance, Śaṅkarī and Lauhitya-Sindhu.[50] This grant as well as the Sualkuci grant record the gifts of lands to some Brāhmaṇas.[51] His inscriptions give us indication that he was a worshipper of Śiva. His son was Purandarapāla who probably died before his father. The next ruler was Indrapāla. His Gauhati plates open with an invocation to Śambhu.[52] His successor was Jayapāla who was succeeded by Gopāla. The next ruler was Harṣamāla (or Harṣapāla). The last ruler of this dynasty was Dharmapāla.

The Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva informs us that a line of kings ruled in the valley.[53] It was issued by Vaidyadeva in his 4th regnal year and records the grant of two villages with a revenue of 400 to the Brahman Śrīdhara. It refers to Vaidyadeva as minister of the Pāla kings of Bengal.[54] Kumārapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Magadha treated him with great honour. But when he heard Tiṅgyadeva's disaffection, he at once appointed Vaidyadeva as a ruler in his place.[55] The latter with his brother Buddhadeva attacked the former and defeated him and killed him. Vaidyadeva then occupied the throne. It is known that some of the Pāla kings included this kingdom in their dominions. Vaidyadeva, a minister, was appointed by Kumārapāla of the Pāla dynasty, in the 12th century AD, as a ruler of this kingdom with royal powers.[56] The Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva mentions Tiṅgyadeva as a prince who ruled in the east of the Pāla dominions.[57] It is very probable that he was a ruler of a portion of the Brahmaputra valley, which adjoined the kingdom of the Pālas on the west.[58] When Vaidyadeva conquered Kāmarūpa, he became a feudatory of the Pālas.[59] He was succeeded by his brother Buddhadeva.

The Assam Plates of Vallabhadeva of the 12th century AD gives the genealogy of a prince named Vallabhadeva.[60]

In the Chandravaṃśa

Bhāskara
- Nṛpa Rāyirideva
- Trailokyasiṃha
  - Udayakarṇa
    - Vallabhadeva
    - Śrī Vallabha
  - Niḥśaṅkasiṃha
  - Ahiavadevī
- Vasumatī?

Vallabhadeva in AD 1184 or 1185 established an alms house near a temple of the god Mahādeva to the east of Kīrtipura in the Hapyacha Maṇḍala, and gave the revenues of certain villages and hamlets as endowments.[61] He did it at his father's command and for his mother's spiritual welfare. But the rulers had no imperial titles which gives us indication that they did not occupy a prominent position in the political history of Kāmarūpa.

The Ahoms, who belonged to the Shan tribe, migrated into Assam in the 13th century. It is known from their *Buranjis* that a section of the great Shan tribe left Maulung in the Upper Irrawaddy valley in AD 1215 and founded a small principality near the Dikho valley. They became very powerful and extended their power not only over the Brahmaputra valley but also up to Dhubri. In course of time they became the rulers of the country. The Muhammedans invaded the Brahmaputra valley on several occasions but they were unable to conquer the Ahom rulers, who founded a dynasty which ruled there for several centuries until the arrival of the British in AD 1825.

Two copperplate grants of a line of kings were found in Bhāterā in Sylhet.[62] They give us the following genealogy of Keśavadeva and Īśānadeva who were the donors of these grants:[63]

In the Lunar Family

Kharavāṇa (alias Navagirvāṇa?)—founder of the kingdom of Śrīhaṭṭa

Gokuladeva (Golhana)?
Nārāyaṇa
Keśavadeva alias Ṛpurāja-Gopī-Govinda
Īśānadeva

Genealogy

1. *The Dynasty of Puṣyavarman*[64] or *The Varman Dynasty of Kāmarūpa*

Puṣyavarman
|
Samudravarman
|
Balavarman
|
Kalyāṇavarman
|
Gaṇapati
|
Mahendravarman
|
Nārāyaṇavarman
|
Mahābhūtavarman—Bhūtivarman
|
Candramukhavarman
|
Sthitavarman
|
Susthitavarman—mṛgāṅka

Supratiṣṭhitavarman | Bhāskaravarman

2. *Śālastambha and his Successors* (*c.* AD 650-800)[65]
Śālastambha
Vijaya
Pālaka
Kumāra
Vajradatta or Vajradeva
Harṣavarman or Śrī-Harīśa

3. *Prālambha and His Successors* (*c.* AD 800-1000)[66]
Prālambha
Harjara
Vanamāla
Jayamāla
Balavarman
Tyāgasiṃha

4. *The Pālas of Kāmarūpa* (*c.* AD 1000-1100).[67]
Tyāgasiṃha
Brahmapāla—Kuladevī
Ratnapāla
Purendarapāla—Durlabha
Indrapāla
Jayapāla
Gopāla
Harṣamāla or Harṣapāla
Dharmapāla

5. *Tingyadeva* (*c.* AD 1000)[68]

6. *Line of Bodhideva*[69]

Bodhideva (Minister of Rāmapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar, *c.* AD 1084-1126)—Pratāpadevī
|
Vaidyadeva | Buddhadeva ?

7. *The Dynasty of Bhāskara* (*c.* AD 1150-1206)[70]
Bhāskara
Rāyārideva—Trailokyasiṃha—Vasumatī ?
Udayakarṇa—Nihasaṅkasiṃha —Ahiadevī
Vallabhadeva—Śrī Vallabha

8. *The Dynasty of Kharavāṇa*[71]
Kharavāṇa alias Navagirvāṇa ?
Gokuladeva (Golhaṇa)
Nārāyaṇa
Keśavadeva alias Rūparāja Gopī Govinda
Īśānadeva

REFERENCES

1 *HNEI*, 263
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid., *CII*, II, 20-21.
6 *EHI*, 383; *HGAI*, 227.
7 *HGAI*, 226; *KP*, ch. 38.
8 *HNEI*, 264.
9 Ibid., 265.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid., 267.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid., 268.
18 Ibid.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid., 270.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid., 272.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid., 275.
27 Ibid., 278; *EHI*, 384.
28 *SBCI*, 37; *HGAI*, 227; *BCAI*, 199; Watters, II, 186.
29 *HNEI*, 287.
30 Ibid., 292.
31 Ibid., 292-93.
32 *EHI*, 383.
33 *SBCI*, 37.
34 *HGAI*, 227; *HK*, 304.
35 *SBCI*, 37.
36 *HNEI*, 295; *DHNI*, I, 238-39.
37 *HNEI*, 295.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
42 *DHNI*, I, 241; *IHQ*, December, 1927, 841, fn 1.
43 *DHNI*, I, 241; *IA*, IX, 179, l. 15; *JRAS*, 1898, 384-85.
44 *DHNI*, 241.
45 Ibid., 243.
46 Ibid., 245.
47 Ibid., 246.
48 Ibid., 248.
49 Ibid., 249.
50 Ibid., 252.
51 Ibid., 252-53.
52 Ibid., 254.
53 Ibid., 256; *EI*, II, 347-58.
54 Ibid., 257.
55 Ibid.
56 *EHI*, 384.
57 *DHNI*, I, 257.
58 Ibid.
59 Ibid., *HA*, 35.
60 *DHNI*, 259.
61 Ibid.
62 Ibid., 267.
63 Ibid.
64 *HNEI*, 274-75; *DHNI*, I, 237.
65 *DHNI*, I, 268.
66 *DHNI*, I, 268.
67 Ibid., I, 268-69.
68 Ibid., I, 268-69.
69 Ibid., I, 268-69.
70 Ibid., I, 268-69.
71 *DHNI*, I, 268-69.

2. KASHMIR

Kashmir was included in the Maurya empire in the time of Aśoka, and again in the Kuṣāṇa dominion in the days of Kaniṣka.[1] Harṣa did not annex Kashmir but he forcibly captured the tooth relic of the Buddha from the king of Kashmir and brought it to Kanauj.[2] N. Dutt gives an account of the introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir. He says, "Moggaliputta Tissa, the religious adviser of Aśoka, sent missionaries to different countries. Majjhantika was deputed to Kashmir-Gandhāra. About the time of his arrival there Aravāla, king of the Nāgas, was destroying the ripe corns of the country by hail-storm. Majjhantika, on account of his miraculous powers, stood on the surface of the Aravāla lake unaffected by rain and storm. At this the Nāga king grew furious and sent forth storm and lightenings, and hurled stones and rocks at him but without any effect. Thus convinced of Majjhantika's great powers, the Nāga king with his followers submitted to him and listened to his discourses on the evils of

anger and hatred. Paṇḍaka Yakkha and Hārīta Yakkhinī with their 500 children became his devotees and offered a jewel throne. When they were fanning him the residents of Kashmir-Gandhāra came with their offerings for the Nāgas, but they offered the same to Majjhantika who then delivered to them a discourse on *asiviṣa* (venom of a serpent) and converted them to Buddhism. From that day up to the time of composition of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, i.e., the 5th century AD, the author says that Kashmir-Gandhāra continued to be illumined by yellow robes.... Through the activities of the Sarvāstivādins, Kashmir became a centre of Buddhist philosophical studies.... The Kashmirian history shows that Aśoka built temples both for Śiva and Buddha and since his reign, the two faiths Buddhism and Śaivism flourished in Kashmir side by side, and even claimed at times the same persons as their devotees.... The only rule important for the history of Buddhism between the reigns of Puṣyamitra and Kaniṣka is that of the Greek king Menander. The *Milindapañha* is particularly important for the history of Buddhism of Kashmir on account of the fact that the scene of discussions between Milinda and Nāgasena is laid in a spot 12 *yojanas* from Kashmir and 200 *yojanas* from Alasanda or Kalasigāma. As regards King Milinda, the work says that he at first became a lay-devotee, built the Milinda vihāra and then after some time handed over the reins of his administration to his son, joined the Buddhist *Saṃgha* as a monk, and ultimately attained *arhat*-hood.... The Kuṣāṇas adopted Buddhism as their religion and showed their munificence by erecting stūpas, temples and images of Buddha all over northern India.... Since the demise of Aśoka, Buddhism withstood several repercussions and survived in north-west India by the patronage of the Śaka-Yavanas and the Kuṣāṇas. In the reign of Kaniṣka, it once more came to the forefront of Indian religions and recovered its lost glory.... The reign of Kaniṣka is of outstanding importance for the history of Buddhism in northern India. It is marked by donations from several lay-devotees and monks to the Buddhist *Saṃgha*.... Of the successors of Kaniṣka, we come across the names of only Vāśiṣka and Huviṣka in the several inscriptions relating to this period. Kalhaṇa mentions the names of three successors Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka.... Kalhaṇa informs us that Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka (II) built Huṣkapura (modern Uskur), Juṣkapura (modern Zukur) and Kaniṣkapura (modern Kaneṣpur), and that these kings, though belonging to the Turuṣka race, were given to acts of piety. They erected *maṭhas* and *caityas* at Suṣkaletra and other places, and the Buddhists of that time acquired great renown as *pravrajitas* (recluses) and were predominant in Kashmir, defeating their opponents in disputations.... Buddhism enjoyed the most prosperous time during

this rule all over northern India and specially in Gandhāra and Kashmir.... It is written by both Kalhaṇa and Tārānātha that Buddhism had a serious set-back in Kashmir after the reign of Kaniṣka II."[3]

The Kārkoṭas or the Kārkoṭakas (c. AD 630-855)

The seventh century AD is an important landmark in the history of Kashmir. Durlabhavardhana of the Kārkoṭa dynasty ascended the throne of Kashmir in the first quarter of that century.[4] It marked an era in the history of the country.[5] Kashmir had become the predominant part in the north. Because for the first time the valley came under the administration of a strong line of rulers, whose ambitious and powerful arms soon brought it into conflict with the princes on the Oxus, the Indus and the Ganges. By c. AD 631 Kashmir had already absorbed the hill states of Parṇotsa and Rajpurī. In the west it had conquered Uraśā (Hazārā) and had come into conflict with the Śāhis, from whom it took Takṣaśilā (Taxila) (modern Rawalpindi district) and extended its power as far as Siṃhapura (Salt Range) in the Punjab. In the first half of the 8th century Kashmir became one of the strongest powers in Asia.[6] Durlabhavardhana was regarded as the founder of the Kārkoṭa dynasty during Harṣa's life-time.[7] Hiuen-tsang spent two years in Kashmir from about May 631 to April 633.[8] He was received with distinguished honour by the unnamed reigning king presumably Durlabhavardhana. That prince and his son Durlabhaka are credited with long reigns.[9] Durlabhavardhana ruled for 36 years. He was succeeded by Durlabhaka or the younger Durlabha. As grandson of the old dynasty King Bālāditya, he assumed the name of Pratāpāditya. He ruled for fifty years. "He was a most meritorious king and many stories of his justice and solicitude for the welfare of his people are related by Kalhaṇa. He established a *maṭha* called Nona Maṭha for Brahmins of the Rohitaka country when he built the temple of Tribhuvana Svāmī a shoemaker refused to give his hut which stood in the way of the building. Durlabhaka declined to oust him by force whereon tanner, moved by the king's high sense of justice, delivered up the land of his own free will. His queen Prakāśadevī built a vihāra called Prakāśikā vihāra, perhaps a Buddhist monastery. She was a Vaiśya lady and Vaiśyas have throughout Indian history usually shown a predilection for the religion of mercy and non-slaughter, that is to say Buddhism and Jainism .... The king's *guru* by name Mihiradatta (a Brahmin) built a temple to Śiva (Viṣṇu probably) by name Gambhīra Svāmī. We mention these temples as typical of the practice of these kings, their queens and their ministers to build temples to their favourite deities. Thus the king enjoyed a long rule endeared to his people by his religiousness and justice."[10]

Durlabhaka was succeeded by his three sons in order. Candrāpīḍa was his eldest son.[11] The Chinese emperor gave him the epithet 'king'.[12] The second son was Tārāpīḍa. The third son was Muktāpīḍa.[13] He was also known as Lalitāditya.[14] Similarly, he was honoured in AD 733 by the emperor of China.[15] He reigned in Kashmir for about thirty-two years. He conquered Kanauj in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab, Tukharistan in the upper Oxus valley and Daraddesa in the Upper Kishen Gaṅgā.[16] He established diplomatic relations with Hiuen-tsang (AD 733-55),[17] the Chinese emperor, and defeated the Bhauṭṭas (Tibetans). He offered 11 crores of golden money to the temples of Bhūteśa (Śiva).[18] "He built a Mārtaṇḍa temple (Sun) with a great uncut stone-wall which is still famous. He built a bridge over the Vitastā at Chhatrapur. He built a town outside Śrīnagar and at some distance and called it Parihāsapura and built there a famous temple to Viṣṇu called Parihāra Keśava where he placed a Garuḍa image on one-stone pillar 54 cubits long. Many gold and silver images of Viṣṇu, Varāha etc. are also spoken of. The Parihāsa Keśava image was a silver adorned with valuable jewels.... The queens also as usual built temples to their favourite deities. Cankuna, a Tukkār minister, gave two magical stones to the king and purchased from him an idol of Buddha which had been brought from his conquest of Magadha. He placed it in a vihāra which he dedicated to the Buddhists. It seems clear from this as is also otherwise well-known that before Muhammadanism, Buddhism was the prevailing religion among Turks, Tukkaras, and other barbarians of Turan.

These temples to Śiva, Viṣṇu, Āditya and Buddha of course satisfied the religious cravings of those times. To the modern historian it is interesting to note that Lalitāditya had many halls established in his kingdom for the feeding of the hungry and for giving water to the thirsty. These *chatra* and *prapās* testify to the humane disposition and his care for his subjects. He is also said to have excavated wells and springs in the northern sandy regions of the Turks where for many miles water is often unobtainable....Thus Lalitāditya appears to have been a true Kṛtayuga or golden age king in the otherwise not very happy history of Kashmir.[19]

Kuvalayāpīḍa succeeded his father Lalitāditya.[20] He ruled for one year only. The next ruler was his brother Vajrāditya.[21] He ruled for seven years. Saṅgrāmapīḍa, his son, ascended the throne after him. He reigned for seven years. His brother was Jayāpīḍa who was also a grandson of Lalitāditya.[22] He occupied the throne of Kashmir. He defeated and dethroned the king of Kanauj who was Vajrāyudha.[23] His coins were found with the title Vinayāditya. "Jayāpīḍa became

more famous than his grandfather Lalitāditya as a patron of letters. He himself was a great *paṇḍit*; ... he was as jealous of a rival in the field of arms as in the field of letters. He revived the study of the *Mahābhāṣya* (the great work on grammar by Patañjali) and appointed Kṣīrasvamī as teacher of grammar. The head of the council of *paṇḍits* was Udbhaṭa the well-known author of *Udbhaṭālaṅkāra* on poetics and paid him as pay one lakh of *dīnāras* per day.... Other famous literary names are Manoratha, Śaṅkhadanta, Cāṭeka and Sandhimān poets, Vāmana (writer on both grammar and *alaṅkāra*), Dāmodaragupta, author of *Kuṭṭinīmata* (mathematics) and Thakkiya who was originally superintendent of granary in the service of a minister of his. The best men in the whole land of India were called and patronised by Jayāpīḍa, so much so that Kashmir became famous as the land of learning ... and there was a famine of learned men in other countries of India. Though a conqueror he assumed the title of Vinayāditya or the sun of education. Equally divided between valour and learning, as if placed between two reflecting mirrors, the king seemed not doubled only, but made hundred fold."[24] He worshipped both Viṣṇu and Buddha and established Viṣṇu temples, Buddha images and a large vihāra in his capital Gayapura.

Jayāpīḍa is said to have ruled for 31 years. He was succeeded by his son Lalitāpīḍa,[25] who was on the throne for twelve years. His brother Saṅgrāmapīḍa[26] ascended the throne after him. He ruled for seven years. The next ruler was a minor king named Cippata (the lesser) Jayāpīḍa.[27]

Usually, the Kārkoṭa rulers were devotees of Lord Śiva. But they also worshipped Viṣṇu. The people were both Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites. But there were also followers of Buddhism, under this dynasty Kashmir not only maintained but even increased its renown for learning and many noted names in Sanskrit literature belong to this period.[28] C.V. Vaidya says that the Kārkoṭaka rulers were all followers of Śaivism. He says, "That was the usual worship among the Hindus at that time. They were also in addition worshipping Viṣṇu and Āditya. The Buddhistic religion had already fallen into disfavour in Kashmir. The days of Meghavāhana were long gone by. Slaughter of animals was no longer prohibited by the state nor were the butchers by profession compensated for their loss of work by grants from the state treasury as in his days. The penalty of the profession of a religion of non-slaughter had already been paid dearly by Kashmir when the Hūṇas under Mihirakula had enslaved the people for a time. Pravārasena a remnant of the Goṇārdīya line had established Hindu sovereignty again in Kashmir with Śiva about a hundred years or so before Durlabhavardhana.... Hiuen-tsang visited the country in the reign of this king and notices the downfall of rather decline of his religion in Kashmir. There were still many monasteries there and the Chinese traveller resided in one of them while in Kashmir. Vihāras were doubtless often mentioned by Kalhaṇa as built by queens of the Kārkoṭa dynasty. But these were probably not Buddhist vihāras, though, the name sounds Buddhistic. Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas also had vihāras of their own in which their *saṃnyāsī* or recluses dwelt as is evidenced by Hiuen-tsang himself. It seems that Buddhism was not only the state religion during this dynasty but also was not much professed by the people. The kings and even the queens were rigidly orthodox and were devoted to Śiva or Viṣṇu or Āditya. The religion of pure sacrifice also flourished but apparently the bloody sacrifices of the Vedas had fallen into desuetude. For none of the powerful kings of this dynasty performed the much-honoured Aśvamedha performed by ancient Kashmir kings and even by kings of the Gupta line. Probably Hindu orthodox sentiment had changed. For the non-performance of Aśvamedha even in the case of Lalitāditya who made a *digvijaya* throughout India like Samudragupta ... cannot be explained on the ground that the Kārkoṭa kings were not Kṣatriyas. The Guptas indeed were most probably not Kṣatriyas but Vaiśyas and yet they performed the Aśvamedha. Surely the Brahmins of Lalitāditya would have found ways to enable him to perform a horse sacrifice if he had wished it. But it seems general sentiment amongst the orthodox Hindus had by this time set in against the more horrid animal sacrifices of the Vedic ritual and thus the Buddhistic religion professed by Kashmir so long had by that time triumphed at least in Kashmir and put a period to these bloody sacrifices."[29]

THE UTPALA DYNASTY (*c.* AD 855-56-939)

Avantivarman

The Utpala rulers occupied the throne of Kashmir after the Kārkoṭas. The first king of the Utpala dynasty was Avantivarman (AD 855-56-883).[30] His reign "is remarkably free from any ambitious foreign policy or wars of aggression beyond its frontiers. But his reign is important as an era of internal peace and consolidation. Aided by his able minister of public works, Sūra or Sūyya, he initiated a series of reforms which soon healed the wounds of misgovernment and internal troubles of the preceding reigns."[31] Sūra, his wife Kāvyadevī and his son Ratnavardhana were all devout worshippers of Śiva and for the progress of Śaivism in the kingdom of Avantivarman they constructed many temples and *maṭhas*.[32] The king was a devotee of Viṣṇu from childhood.[33] But in order to please his minister, he

became a worshipper of Śiva and played his vital role for the prosperity of Śaivism. He built the temple of Śiva Avantiśvara and offered gifts and made several other benefactions to the temples of Tripureśvara, Bhūteśa and Vijayeśa. He also constructed Avantipura. Ānandavardhana, Ratnākara, Śivasvāmin and Muktākaṇa were famous Kashmirian poets who flourished during his reign. His reign was notable for his enlightened patronage of literature. He died in AD 883 at the Tripureśa (modern Triphar) hill.

Śaṅkaravarman

After the death of Avantivarman, his son Śaṅkaravarman captured the throne of the Utpala dynasty with great difficulty after defeating his rivals in his struggle against them. The new king checked the sovereign power of Bhoja and destroyed the fortune of the Gūrjarādhipa, Alakhāna. He conquered the Takkadeśa which was located between the Upper waters of the Chenab and the Ravi. He also led an expedition towards the Indus through the Bārāmūlā defile. But the king was unable to extend the boundaries of his kingdom beyond the limits of the submontane regions adjoining Kashmir upon the west and south. His military expeditions and their expenses had a bad effect upon the resources of Kashmir. In order to meet his expenses, the king introduced many taxes. He also took from the temples the profits arising from the sale of incense, sandal wood and other (articles of worship). He also resumed the villages which were granted to the temples as Agrahāra, on the understanding that a fixed amount should be returned as compensation (*pratikara*) from the income of these villages. These lands were then cultivated directly by the state, but the amount of the *pratikara* due to the temples was reduced by diminishing the weight in the scales by one-third. He then plundered straightway 64 temples, through special officers (placed over them) under the practice of exercising supervision. He was known as the plunderer of temple treasures. The king built two temples of Śiva, Śaṅkaragaurīśa and Sugandheśa in a city known as Śaṅkarapura (modern Pātan). He ruled for nineteen years.

Gopālavarman and his Successors

The next ruler was Gopālavarman, the son of Avantivarman. Before his death he entrusted his surviving minor son Gopālavarman to the care of his mother, queen Sugandhā, the daughter of the illustrious Svāmirāja, the ruler of the northern region. With the help of the ministers, Gopālavarman was on the throne then under the guardianship of his mother. His reign witnessed an expedition

against the Śāhis of Udabhāṇḍapura. As a result the reigning Śāhi, possibly Sāmand (Sāmanta) was defeated by Prabhākaradeva, the minister of Gopālavarman and Lalliya's son Toramāṇa-Kamaluka (Kamalū) ascended the throne of Udabhāṇḍapura. Gopālavarman ruled for two years and died in AD 904. After his suppositious brother Saṃkaṭa who had been picked up from the highway ascended the throne. But he died after a rule of ten days. Then Sugandhā at the bidding of the subjects took the throne. She constructed Gopālapura (modern Gauripur) and also a town after her name. She for the prosperity of the religion built the Gopālamaṭha and the temple of Gopālakeśava. She ruled for two years and died in AD 914. Pārtha, the ten year old son of Nirjitavarman (Paṅgu), was on the throne in AD 906 and the latter acted as the guardian of the child king. In AD 921 Nirjitavarman overthrew his son Pārtha and occupied the throne. But in AD 923 he died. His young son Cakravarman was on the throne under the guardianship of his mother Bappaṭādevī and then for ten years his grandmother Kṣillikā acted as the guardian. King Śūravarman I, the son of Paṅgu by Mṛgāvatī became the ruler in AD 933 after overthrowing Cakravarman. But the former was dethroned in AD 934 and again in AD 935 Cakravarman took the throne. But the latter lost his kingdom and in his place his minister Śambhuvardhana captured the throne. Cakravarman then again came in the picture after he had killed Śambhuvardhana. The former then became the ruler but he was killed by his soldiers in AD 937. Then Unmattavanti, the wicked son of Pārtha, occupied the throne with the help of the ministers. Kalhaṇa mentioned this king as "worse than wicked." He not only imprisoned and starved to death all his half-brothers but also killed his father Pārtha in his retirement at the Jayendra vihāra at Śrīnagara. This shows that Pārtha became a Buddhist monk and joined the Buddhist *Saṃgha* and led a life of a Buddhist monk at the Jayendra vihāra where he was killed by his son. It indicates that Buddhism flourished there. Unmattavanti died in AD 939. The parricide miscreant king, when his descent to hell was near, placed on the throne a young child called Śūravarman (II), whom the servant-girls of his seraglio had procured from somewhere and falsely declared to be the king's son. But before the child-king's position was established, Kamalavardhana, the commander-in-chief, defeated the royal troops and invited all the Brāhmaṇas to select a person who would be the best person for the throne. The Brāhmaṇas met in an assembly and discussed the question for 5 or 6 days and selected Yaśaskara, the son of Prabhākaradeva, the minister of Gopālavarman and the secret

paramour of Sugandhā.[67] Thus the Utpala dynasty came to an end when Yaśaskara ascended the throne in AD 939.[68]

Successors of the Utpalas (AD 939-1003)

Yaśaskara ruled for about ten years (AD 939-48).[69] Kalhaṇa gives an account of his reign. "The land became so free from robbery that at night the doors were left open in the bazars, and the roads were secure for travellers. As he exercised careful supervision, the functionaries, who had plundered everything, found no other occupation but to look after the cultivation."[70] He also built a *matha* for students from Āryadeśa.[71] Yaśaskara as usual with the founder of a new dynasty proved a capable, energetic and conscientious king. He of course sent back the Brahmins to their sacrifices and ruled with rigour and scrupulousness. The poet's remarks here are worth quoting: "In his days people slept in their houses with open doors and travellers moved without peril on their paths owing to the destruction of thieves. Villagers were engrossed in cultivation and had no occasion to visit the court and Brahmins remained engrossed in their studies and had no occasion to take up arms. Brahmin sages on pretext of reciting Sāmans did not drink liquor nor did ascetics tend sons, wives, cattle or fields. Nor did religious men with fools for their teachers sacrifice with fish and Aupa or cakes, disputing with their own compositions based on Tarka or guess the principles of Veda. Nor did house-wives worshipping false 'gurus', which shakes of their heads transgress their husbands. And lastly no astrologer, physician, juryman, teacher, counsellor, preceptor (*purohita*), herald, judge and writer was uneducated in his days."[72]

Then ministers and feudal chiefs installed Varṇata, the son of his paternal grand-uncle Rāmadeva on the throne but he was deposed in AD 948.[73] Then Saṃgrāmadeva (Vakrānghri), who was the child-king, was installed as king and his grandmother acted as his guardian.[74] But Parvagupta and his five colleagues were the powerful ministers who were ruling the country at that time. Parvagupta killed the boy-king in AD 749 and ascended the throne.[75]

Parvagupta was a powerful ruler. Kalhaṇa mentions that princes, chiefs, ministers, officials etc. were all afraid of him.[76] He built the temple of Śiva-Parvateśvara, which was located near the site of Skandhabhavanavihāra in Śrīnagara.[77] He died in AD 950.[78] After him, his son Kṣemagupta took the throne.[79] He married Diddā, daughter of Siṃharāja, the lord of Lohara and grand-daughter of the Sāhi ruler Bhīma.[80] The king died in AD 958. His young son Kṣemagupta was then installed on the throne as king and Diddā acted as his guardian. He died in AD 972. His young son Nandigupta succeeded him. After the death of her young son, the queen-regent became a changed person and performed many meritorious acts. She built temples, *mathas* and cities. But she by employing witchcraft killed her grandsons, Nandigupta in AD 973 and Tribhuvana in AD 975.[81] The next ruler was Bhīmagupta. He died in AD 980-81.[82] Diddā captured the throne in AD 980-81 and appointed Tuṅga, a young Khaśa from Parnotsa the Sarvādhikāri and raised him above everybody.[83] Four brothers of Tuṅga were also given good jobs. The former ministers, who were ousted by Tuṅga and his brothers, revolted under the leadership of the Lohara prince Vigraharāja, son of Diddā's brother.[84] But Tuṅga crushed their attempt. He also defeated Prithvīpāla the king of Rājapurī. Diddā died in AD 1003. But before her death Saṃgrāmarāja, a son of her brother Udayarāja, was selected by her for the rank of Yuvarāja.[85]

THE LOHARA DYNASTY (AD 1003-1771)

It is known from historical records that Saṃgrāmarāja was the younger brother of Vigraharāja of Lohara.[86] The former ascended the throne in AD 1003. He thus founded the Lohara dynasty in Śrīnagara.[87] He died in AD 1028. His son Harirāja succeeded him.[88] But after a reign of 22 days he died. The new ruler was Ananta.[89] His queen was Sūryamatī who was quite well-known for her various pious foundations. She was also known as Subhaṭā. The king in favour of his son abdicated the throne in AD 1063.[90] But Ananta and his wife Sūryamatī committed suicide in AD 1081.[91] The new king with the help of his able officers like Vāmana, Kaṇḍarpa and Vijayasiṃha established internal stability and founded many temples and pious endowments.[92] He died in AD 1089 and his second son Utkarṣa took the throne in AD 1089. He reigned for only 22 days and committed suicide in AD 1089.[93] His brother Harṣa then ascended the throne. He is perhaps the most dazzling figure in the whole range of later Kashmirian history, and produced a profound impression on his contemporaries.[94] He was an able ruler. He retained many of his father's state officials. Kalhaṇa gives us indication that the first part of his reign was eminently successful. He invaded foreign countries and was successful in this matter. He spent lavishly and it was because of this habit he was in financial difficulties. "He is called by Kalhaṇa a Turuṣka.... Being a Turuṣka he was a *mleccha* by faith, as otherwise he could not have destroyed the Hindu and Buddhist temples. Kalhaṇa writes that "divine images of gold, silver and other materials were rolled about even on the roads, which were covered with nightsoil". He spared from spoliation only the temple of Raṇasvāmin

and Mārtaṇḍa and spared the two colossal statues of Buddha (of which one was at Parihāsa built by king Lalitāditya and the other at Śrīnagara, known as the Bṛhatbuddha) at the request of his favourite singer Kaṇaka and the *śramaṇa* Kusalaśrī."[95] Harṣa was killed in AD 1101 at the age of 43 years by the supporters of Uccala, who was a son of Malla.[96] Uccala ascended the throne in AD 1101. He was a powerful king. Kalhaṇa refers to Uccala's consideration for the common people and his sense of justice. The king reformed internal administration. In times of famine he sold his grain stores at cheap prices and thus saved his people from distress.[97] He was a religious person no doubt. Because, he restored many of the temples and *maṭhas* which were destroyed during the reign of Harṣa and other rulers of Kashmir.[98] He was murdered in AD 1111 by Raḍḍa, who ascended the throne after assuming the name of Śaṅkharāja.[99] But soon Ḍāmara Gargachandra of Lahara killed Raḍḍa-Śaṅkharāja with many of his fellow conspirators.[100] The former then installed Salhaṇa, a step brother of Uccala on the throne.[101] But he was imprisoned by Sussala, a brother of Uccala, when he had reigned for about four months (AD 1112).[102] Sussala ascended the throne in AD 1112. In the meantime Bhikṣācāra, who became the most formidable rival of the king, appeared on the frontiers of Kashmir and after his several attempts occupied the throne in AD 1120. The inexperienced king blundered at every step in the task of government.[103] Sussala again occupied the throne after an absence of six months and 12 days.[104] But the next seven years (AD 1121-28) which covered the reign of Sussala witnessed constant struggles between Sussala and Bhikṣācāra.[105] In AD 1128 Sussala was brutally murdered by Utpala and his associates. Then Jayasiṃha, the son of Sussala, ascended the throne. He reigned in Kashmir for about 27 years (AD 1128-55).[106] He patronised literary men. He looked after the *maṭhas* and Vihāras, the first of which that attracted his attention was the one built by his queen Ratnādevī. His chief minister Rilhaṇa was also very pious. He showed his veneration to both Śiva and Buddha and erected a monastery in memory of his deceased wife Sussalā. Sussalā must have been a great devotee of the Buddha as she erected, on the site of the famous Caṅkuna vihāra which had been destroyed, a magnificent establishment for the Buddhist monks. Cintā, wife of Jayasiṃha's commander Udaya, adorned the bank of Vitastā by a monastery consisting of five buildings, and Dhanya, one of the ministers, commenced the construction of a vihāra in honour of his late wife. Evidently, therefore, the reign of Jayasiṃha was marked by a revival of Buddhist faith in Kashmir.[107] The next ruler was his son Vantideva who ruled for about

seven or eight years. With his death the Lohara dynasty came to an end.

SUCCESSORS OF THE LOHARAS (*c.* AD 1171-1339)

Jonarāja says that after the death of Vantideva (AD 1171-72) "the citizens for want of a worthy successor elected one named Vuppadeva."[108] He ruled for 9 years 5 months. His brother Jassaka succeeded him. He reigned for eighteen years. The next ruler was Jagadeva, who was Jassaka's son. He was succeeded by his son Rājadeva who ruled for about 23 years.[109] The next ruler was his son Saṃgrāmadeva who was a powerful ruler. He terrified his enemies as the lion does the elephant.[110] Jonarāja refers to this king as "a benefactor of his country" and "a Kalpadruma to posts and learned men."[111] He built at Vijayaśvara the Śrī-Visāla house which contained 21 rooms for the habitation of cows and Brāhmaṇas.[112] He ruled for about 16 years (AD 1235-52). His son Rāmadeva ascended the throne in AD 1252. He was a good administrator. His queen Śrī-Samudra built at Śrīnagara on the Vitastā a *maṭha* marked with her name.[113] He ruled for 21 years and died in AD 1273. Lakṣmaṇadeva, who was his adopted son, succeeded him. He was a learned man, but as 'a painted stone does not take the beauty of a jewel', he never developed the vigour and bravery of a Kṣatriya.[114] Muhammadan invader named Kajjala defeated and killed him in AD 1286. He reigned for 13 years 3 months.[115] It is very probable that Lakṣmaṇadeva had no sons to succeed him. With his death, this line of rulers seems to have come to an end.

Siṃhadeva and His Successors (*c.* AD 1286-1320)

There was none from the family of the last ruler Lakṣmaṇadeva to claim the throne. It is for this reason a state of anarchy prevailed for some time. Then Saṃgrāmacandra, the lord of Lohara, and Siṃhadeva, chief of Labdar of Dakṣiṇapārā, appeared there.[116] The latter claimed the throne and declared himself king. But owing to Saṃgrāmacandra, he reigned in the valley of the Ledarī (modern Lidār), which flowed into the Vitastā between Anantanāga and Vijabror.[117] But he became the ruler of the whole kingdom after the death of the former. The first part of his reign was successful. He was known for his pious foundations. But under the evil influence of bad men his character gradually degenerated and he became a changed person. He became devoid of his belief in God.[118] He reigned for about 14 years and died in AD 1301.[119] His brother Sūhadeva succeeded him. He was a powerful ruler and established his authority in

the whole of Kashmir.[120] Sūhadeva's reign witnessed two foreign invasions which not only destroyed his power, but also led to the destruction of Hindu rule in the valley.[121] Sūhadeva found very difficult to oppose the foreign invasions and took shelter in the hills. He reigned for about 19 years and lost his life in AD 1320.[122]

Bhoṭṭa Riñcana and His Successors

Bhoṭṭa Riñcana established his rule over the whole valley.[123] He was not only an able ruler but also was a good administrator. During his rule Kashmir enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity. Abul Fazl says that "he was famous for his munificence, and eventually adopted the religion of Śāhamera through intimacy of association with him."[124] Riñcana died in AD 1323. It is known from records that during Riñcana administration Śāhamera became very influential and played a vital role in his administration. Haidara was a minor son of Riñcana and Koṭādevī. That is why, Śāhamera installed Riñcana's relative Udayanadeva on the throne. The latter married the widowed queen Koṭādevī. The queen continued to wield great power while the king spent his time in bathing, in penance and in prayer.[125] The king died in AD 1338. Koṭādevī then took the control of the kingdom. Afterwards she was forced to marry Śāhamera, who after a day's married life, imprisoned her and declared himself king of Kashmir under the title of Śrī-Śaṃsadīna (Shams-ud-din) in AD 1339.[126] Islam gradually became the religion of Kashmir during the fourteenth century AD. Then in AD 1561 the Chakk dynasty succeeded the dynasty of Shams-ud-din.[127] Akbar, the Mughal emperor, in AD 1586 annexed Kashmir during the rule of a Ya'qub Shāh, the ruler of the Chakk dynasty.[128]

S.C. Banerjee says, "Literary evidence points to the prevalence of serpent-worship in the valley from a remote antiquity. The Nāgas were held in such veneration that the Kārkoṭa dynasty traced its descent from Nāga Kārkoṭa. There is evidence, both literary and archaeological, of Kashmir having been a great centre of Buddhism which perhaps entered the valley as early as the third century AD to a great extent overshadowing the Nāga-cult. Buddhism gathered a momentum at the time of Aśoka of whose empire it was a part, and reached the peak of development in the Kuṣāṇa period. It was at the time of Kaniṣka that the Fourth Buddhist Council was held in Kashmir where some important Buddhist treatises were composed and Buddhist scholars of great eminence flourished. Itself a stronghold of Buddhism, Kashmir played a significant part in the spread of this religion to lands outside India up to Central Asia and China. This religion had a powerful hold on the Kashmirians throughout the Hindu rule over the valley.

Buddhism spread in Kashmir no doubt, and to some extent, threw into background the indigenous faiths. But, side by side with this religion, the Brahmanical religion also flourished in the valley. Kashmirian Śaivism, which might have made its way from the Indus valley or developed out of the Rudra-Śiva concept of the Vedic period, perhaps, dates back to a period remoter than the introduction of Buddhism. Of the existence of Śaivism in the pre-Aśokan days there is literary record. It has been widely prevalent through ages claiming, many kings amongst its followers. Countless shrines in honour of Śiva were erected not only by the Hindus but also by some Buddhists, e.g., by Aśoka himelf. The history of Kashmir Śaivism is, however, a chequered one. In the early period it belonged to the Pāśupata sect. Based on *Tantras*, it propounded dualism. It took a new garb in about the eighth century when, in pursuance of the Advaita system, it began to preach idealistic monism. The works, on which the new system, was based, crossed current as Trika Śāstra subdividing itself into three branches, viz., *Āgamaśāstra*, *Spandaśāstra* and *Pratyabhijñāśāstra*. The *Āgamaśāstra* comprised a number of such old *Tantra* as *Malinīvijaya*, *Śūdrayamala* etc. The Trika system was considerably developed, and received a clearer exposition in the *Spandaśāstra* or *Spandakārikās* probably written by Kallaṭa of the ninth century. One Somananda was responsible for the *Pratyabhijñāśāstra*. It was his business to uphold Śaivism by systematic and critical representation. Somananda's treatise was a need of the hour, because Buddhism was now a powerful force and it had to be combatted. The highly philosophical Trika system, with its abstruse literature, failed necessarily to appeal to the masses. The result was that, while it was confined to the intellectual class, the lower class clung to the more popular Pāśupata Śaivism.

Side by side with Śiva, Viṣṇu was also widely worshipped. It is difficult to assert when Vaiṣṇavism first made its appearance in Kashmir, but of its existence in a developed form since the sixth century AD there is no doubt. Numerous images of Viṣṇu were consecrated, and temples built in honour of him. Besides the masses, many members of the successive royal dynasties also became devotees of this deity. Kashmirian Vaiṣṇavism combined in itself the elements of the Vedic Viṣṇu and Pañcarātra sect, the faith of the Sātvats and devotion to Gopāla Kṛṣṇa.

Śiva and Viṣṇu were not the only deitie worshipped in Kashmir. The people of the valley believed in, and worshipped, also some other deities of the Indian pantheon, e.g., Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Durgā etc. Sculptural remains and literary evidence testify to the prevalence of the worship of these deities as well as some others including Kāmadeva

or the god of Love. The worship of Śakti in various forms like Durgā, Śāradā etc. has been proved. The discovery of images of Sapta Mātṛkas (seven mothers) is an incontrovertible evidence of the prevalence of Śākta cult."[129]

GENEALOGY

1. *The Kārkoṭa Dynasty*[130]

- Durlabhavardhana
  - Durlabhaka
    - Candrāpīḍa
    - Tārāpīḍa
    - Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa
      - Kuvalayāpīḍa
      - Vajrāpīda
        - Saṅgrāmapīḍa
        - Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya
          - Saṅgrāmapīḍa
          - Lalitāpīḍa
            - Cippatajayāpīḍa
              - Utpalapīḍa
              - Ajitapīḍa
                - Anaṅgapīḍa

2. *The Utpalas*[131]

- Utpala
  - Sukhavarman
    - Avantivarman
      - Śaṃkaravarman Sugandhā
        - Gopālavarman
        - Saṃkaṭavarman
    - Śūravarman
      - Sukhavarman
        - Nirjitavarman (Paṅgu)
          - Pārtha
            - Unmattavantī
              - Śūravarman II
              - usurpation of Sambhuvardhana (AD 935-36)
          - Cakravarman
          - Śūravarman I
- Jayādevī—Lalitāpīḍa

3. *Successors of the Utpalas*[132]

(a) *Line of Vīradeva*

- Vīradeva
  - Kāmadeva
    - Prabhākaradeva
      - Yaśaskaradeva
        - Saṃgrāmadeva
  - Rāmadeva
    - Varṇata

(b) *Line of Abhinava*[133]

- Abhinava
  - Saṃgrāmagupta
    - Parvagupta
      - Kṣemagupta
        - Abhimanyu
          - Nandigupta
          - Tribhuvana
          - Bhīmagupta
- Sāhi king Bhīma
  - Daughter—Lohara king Siṃharāja
    - Diddā

4. *The Lohara Dynasty*[134]

- Siṃharāja of Lohara
  - Udayarāja
    - Vigraharāja of Lohara
    - Saṃgrāmarāja
      - Harirāja
      - Ananta
        - Kalasa
          - Harṣa
            - Bhoja
              - Bhikṣācāra
          - Utkarṇa
          - Vijayamalla
          - Jayarāja
          - Bhoja
  - Diddā—Kṣemagupta
  - Kāntirāja
    - Jessarāja
      - Tanvaṅga
        - Dhammata
      - Guṅga
        - Malla
          - Uccala (usurpation of Raḍḍa-Śaṃkharāja)
          - Sussala
            - Jayasiṃha
              - Gulhaṇa
              - Paramāṇuka
                - Vantideva
          - Salhaṇa
            - Bhoja
          - Lothaṇa

5. *Successors of the Loharas*[135]

(a) *Line of Vuppadeva*

- Vuppadeva
- Jassaka
  - Jagadeva
    - Rājadeva
      - Saṃgrāmadeva
        - Rāmadeva
          - Lakṣmaṇadeva

(b) *Siṃhadeva and His Successors*[136]

- Siṃhadeva
- Sūhadeva

(c)

- Bhoṭṭa Riñcana—Koṭādevī[137]
  - Haidara
    - Udayanadeva
    - Koṭādevī
    - Śāhamera Śamsadīna (Shāh Mīr Shams-ud-din)

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[1] *ERI*, 386.
[2] Ibid.
[3] *GM*, I, 5-26; *MV*, XII, 3.
[4] *DHNI*, I, 112.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid. Parṇotsā (Punāc), Rājapurī (Rājauri, the ancient Abhisāra) *EHI*, 368.
[7] *EHI*, 386.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] *HMHI*, 206-7.
[11] *EHI*, 386.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] *DHNI*, I, 112; *RTG*, IV, 131-264.
[17] *DHNI*, I, 112.
[18] Ibid.
[19] *HMHI*, 212-13.
[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid., 215; *EHI*, 387.
[23] *EHI*, 387.
[24] *HMHI*, I, 215-16.
[25] Ibid., 216.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid., 217.
[29] Ibid., 203-4
[30] *DHNI*, I, 113.
[31] Ibid., 114.
[32] Ibid., 115; *RTG*, V, 37-38, 40-41.
[33] *DHNI*, I, 115.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.; *RTG*, V, 45-46.
[36] *DHNI*, I, 115; *RTG*, V, 45-46.
[37] *DHNI*, I, 115; *RTG*, V, 32-36.
[38] *EHI*, 387.
[39] *DHNI*, I, 117.
[40] Ibid., 118; *RTG*, V, 130-35.
[41] *DHNI*, I, 119.
[42] Ibid.; *RTG*, V, 137-38, 209.
[43] *DHNI*, I, 119.
[44] Ibid., 120.
[45] Ibid., 120-21; *RTG*, V, 168-71.
[46] *DHNI*, I, 120-21.
[47] Ibid., 122.
[48] Ibid., I, fn 3; Stein thinks that Siṃharāja was a ruler of the Dard or some neighbouring territory. *RTG*, V, 157.
[49] *DHNI*, I, 123.
[50] Ibid., *RTG*, V, 239-41.
[51] *DHNI*, I, 123.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., 124.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid., 125.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid., 126.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid., 127.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid., 128.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid., 128-29.
[70] Ibid., 128; *RTG*, VI, 7-8.
[71] *DHNI*, I, 128.
[72] *HMHI*, I, 225-26.
[73] *DHNI*, I, 128.
[74] Ibid., 129.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid., 130; *RTG*, II, 339-40.
[78] *DHNI*, I, 130.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid., 134.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid., *RTG*, VI, 318-22, 333-65.
[86] *DHNI*, I, 135.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid., 138.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid., 142.
[91] Ibid., 144.
[92] Ibid., 146.
[93] Ibid., 147.
[94] Ibid.
[95] *GM*, I, 32-33.
[96] *DHNI*, I, 155.
[97] Ibid., 157.
[98] Ibid.; *RTG*, VIII, 2-160.
[99] *DHNI*, I, 158.
[100] Ibid., 160.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.; *RTG*, VIII, 379-480.
[103] *DHNI*, I, 164.
[104] Ibid., 165; *RTG*, VIII, 925-64.
[105] *DHNI*, I, 166.
[106] Ibid., 170.
[107] *GM*, I, 33-34.
[108] *DHNI*, I, 174; *JDR*, V. 50 : the name is Vopyadeva.
[109] *DHNI*, I, 175; *JDR*, VV. 68-78.
[110] *DHNI*, I, 175.
[111] Ibid., 176.
[112] Ibid.; *JDR*, VV. 92-108.
[113] *DHNI*, I, 176.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid., 177.
[117] Ibid.; *JDR*, V. 123.
[118] *DHNI*, I, 177.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid., 178.
[122] Ibid., 179.
[123] Ibid.; *JDR*, V. 156 ff.
[124] *DHNI*, I, 179.
[125] Ibid., 180.
[126] Ibid., *JDR*, VV. 255-352.
[127] *DHNI*, I, 180.
[128] Ibid.
[129] *CHK*, 17-19.
[130] *HMHI*, I, 236.
[131] *DHNI*, I, 181.
[132] Ibid., 182.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid., 182-83.
[135] Ibid., 183.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.

3. THE GURJARA-PRATIHĀRA KINGS OF KANAUJ

It is very probable that the early Gurjaras were foreign immigrants, closely associated with, and possibly allied in blood to the white Hūṇas.[1] They established a kingdom in Rājputānā and their capital was Bhilmāl or Śrīmāl, about 50 miles to the north-west of Mount Abu.[2] V.A. Smith describes, "The Gurjaras are believed to have entered India either along with or soon after the white Hūṇas, and to have settled in large numbers in Rājputānā; but there is nothing to show what part of Asia they came from or to what race they belonged."[3] Its one branch moved towards south and established at Mālavā. They gradually became powerful. In course of time they conquered Kanauj and became the paramount power of northern India.

Nāgabhaṭa I, who belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, was a powerful ruler. He defeated the Arabs and drove them out of his kingdom. It was he who established the Gurjara-Pratihāra kingdom on a solid foundation. He had the titles of Mahārāja, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Parameśvara. He was also a good soldier because he himelf led his army towards Broach. But his successors were weak rulers. They played a very insignificant role in the political history of ancient India. But another ruler of this dynasty was Vatsarāja. During his rule Mālavā and Rājputānā became very prominent. Gopāla, the Pāla ruler, suffered defeat at his hands. The next ruler was Nāgabhaṭa II. It is said that this ambitious monarch probably in AD 816 defeated Cakrāyudha, the king of Kanauj from Bhilmāl in Rājputānā. It was the capital of his successors for many years. During the rule of the Gurjara-Pratihāras it became very prominent. It was then regarded as the premier city of northern India. Nāgabhaṭa established friendly relations with Sindhu, Andhra, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga. It is known that during Nāgabhaṭa's reign, the war between the Gurjaras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (Rāṭhors) of the Deccan continued for sometime. Afterwards Govinda III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, defeated the Gurjaras in the beginning of the ninth century AD.[4] Nāgabhaṭa's successor was Rāmabhadra (Rāmadeva) who ruled between AD 834 and 840.[5] He was a devotee of the sun-god. He was a weak ruler. It was because of his inefficiency, his enemies invaded his country many times and destroyed the peace and prosperity of his kingdom. But his son and successor was Mihira. He was also known as Bhoja.[6] V.A. Smith states, "The prominent position occupied by the Gurjara kingdoms in early mediaeval times is a recent discovery. The existence of a small Gurjara principality at Bharoch (Broach), and of a larger state in Rājputānā, had been

known to archaeologists for many years, but the recognition of the fact that Bhoja and the other kings of the powerful Kanauj dynasty in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries were Gurjaras is of recent date.... It is now definitely proved that Bhoja (*c.* AD 840-90), his predecessors and successors belonged to the Pratihāra (Parihāra) clan of the Gurjara tribe or caste...."[7] Bhoja enjoyed a long and prosperous reign. V.A. Smith mentions that his "dominions may be called an 'Empire' without exaggeration. They certainly included the Cis-Sutlej districts of the Punjab, most of Rājputānā, the greater part, if not the whole, of the present United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and the Gwalior territory ... on the east his dominions abutted on the realm of Devapāla, king of Bengal and Bihar, which he invaded successfully; on the north-west his boundary probably was the Sutlej river; on the west the lost Hakra or Wahindah river separated his territories from those of his enemies, the Muhammadan chiefs of Sind; on the south-west his powerful Rāṣṭrakūṭa rival, the ally of the Muhammadans, kept his armies continually on the alert; while on the south his next neighbour was the growing Chandel kingdom of Jejakabhukti, the modern Bundelkhand, which probably acknowledged his suzerainty."[8] Bhoja was a worshipper of Viṣṇu and Bhagavatī. He liked to pose as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.[9] That is why, he took the title of Ādivarāha, "the primaeval boar" which was one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu.

Bhoja was succeeded by his son Mahendrapāla I (Mahendrāyudha) (*c.* AD 893-907).[10] He ruled all northern India, except the Punjab and Indus valley, from the borders of Bihar (Magadha) to the shore of the Arabian sea.[11] His inscriptions of his eighth and ninth regnal years were found at Gayā which suggest that Magadha was a part of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dominions for sometime.[12] H.C. Ray says, "...Thanks to the achievement of two of their ablest chiefs, Bhoja and Mahendrapāla, at last succeeded in re-establishing an empire in India that in extent rivalled, if it did not exceed, that of the Guptas and Puṣpabhūtis. There is unquestioned epigraphic evidence to show that the last of these two princes (Bhoja and Mahendrapāla I) ruled over an area which extended from the Karnal district in the Punjab to Bihar and from the Kāṭhiāwār peninsula to northern Bengal. The strength and power of the Gurjara-Pratihāras are amply attested by the account of the contemporary Arab writers. The Arab satraps of Sind soon found their way blocked by the mighty arms of these rulers, and came to regard them as the greatest foe of the Muhammedan faith."[13]

Mahendrapāla I was a devotee of Bhagavatī and Viṣṇu. His teacher was Rājaśekhara who was the author of the *Karpūramañjarī* and other works.[14] He died in about AD 987-8.[15] An inscription of the 9th year of his reign was found at Guneriya in the southern part of the Gayā district.[16] It is engraved on the pedestal of an image of the Buddha. It was the pious gift of Śrīpāla who was the son of Haridatta, the merchant. Another votive inscription was discovered at Itkhori in the Hazaribagh district of Bihar.[17] There is a reference to the name of Parameśvara Mahendrapāla on the pedestal of an image of Tārā. A votive inscription of an image of the Buddha taming the elephant Nalagiri was found from Bihar.[18] It belonged to the reign of Mahendrapāla. A stone pillar dedicating in the fifth year of king Mahendrapāla to the Buddha by Sthāvira Jayagarbha was found in a Buddhist temple at Pahārpur in the northern part of the Rājsāhi district of Bengal.[19] This gives us indication that not only Buddhism flourished during the rule of Mahendrapāla I but the greater part of Magadha up to even northern Bengal came under his suzerainty.

After Mahendrapāla I, his son Bhoja II ascended the throne of the Gurjara-Pratihāra kingdom some time after AD 907-8.[20] He ruled for a very short period (*c.* AD 907-14). He was a Vaiṣṇava. He was dethroned by his brother Mahīpāla I (AD 914-43). During the first part of his reign he was able to restore the mighty empire of his predecessors. Rājaśekhara in the introduction of his *Bālabhārata* or *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava* gives an account of the victories of Mahīpāla. He says, "In that (lineage of Raghu), there was born the glorious Mahīpāladeva, who has bowed down the locks of hair on the tops of the head of the Muralas; who has caused the Mekalas to suppurate; who has driven the Kaliṅgas before him in war; who has spoilt the pastime of (the king who is) the moon of the Keralas; who has conquered the Kulūtas; who is a very axe to the Kuntalas, and who by violence has appropriated the fortunes of the Ramathas."[21] Rājaśekhara refers to Mahīpāla I as "the pearl-jewel of the lineage of Raghu the Mahārājādhirāja of Āryavarta", or "Āryavarta-Mahārājādhirāja."[22] Thus by their successful efforts the Gurjara-Pratihāras were able to occupy an almost supreme position amongst the rulers of northern India. The hostilities that started between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gurjara-Pratihāras since the days of Dhruva-Nirupamā and Vatsarāja continued up to the time of Mahīpāla.[23] In AD 916 Indra III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, defeated Mahīpāla I and captured Kanauj. This was no doubt a death blow to the power and prosperity of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty.[24] The Gurjara Pratihāra ruler also lost Surāṣṭra and other remote provinces. The Camby plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV in verse 19 mentions Govinda IV's father Indra III's northern expedition. It says, "The courtyard (of the temple of the god) Kalapriya became uneven by the stroke of the tusks of his

rutting elephants. His steeds crossed the unfathomable Yamunā which rivals the sea. He completely uprooted the hostile city of Mahodaya, which is even today greatly renowned among men by the name Kuśasthala."[25] According to scholars, the god Kalapriya was Mahākāla. Mahīpāla with the help of the Chandel king recovered Kanauj the capital city.

The Haddala grant[26] which probably belonged to the reign of Mahīpāla I was found near Haddālā in Eastern Kāṭhiāwār. It opens with an invocation to (Śiva) Dhandeśvara. It says that the village named Vimkala was granted to Maheśvarācārya. The Asni stone pillar inscription was found at Asni in U.P. It mentions that in the reign of Mahīpāla the inscription "was set up in a certain caitya of the god Yogasvāmin. It made some arrangements for the worship of the god by Brāhmaṇas, and ascetics of the locality."[27] The Haddala grant gives us indication about the prevalence of Śaivism in the kingdom of Mahīpala I. The Asni stone pillar inscription refers to caitya and ascetics. It probably signifies that caitya was a Buddhist caitya and ascetics were Buddhist monks. From this we conclude that Buddhism flourished side by side with Śaivism in the kingdom of Mahīpāla I.

Mahendrapāla II in AD 945-46 ascended the throne of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty after Mahīpāla I. The Partābgarh stone inscription[28] was found at Partābgarh in southern Rājputānā. It opens with an invocation to the sun-god and it then praises the goddess Durgā. It mentions that King Mahendrapāla granted the village of Kharpara-padraka to the goddess Vata-Yakṣiṇī Devī whose temple was connected with the *maṭha* of Hari Ṛṣiśvara who belonged to Dasapur (modern Mandasor). This no doubt indicates the Sun-worship as well as the worship of the goddess Durgā and Yakṣiṇī and other Brahmanical gods became very popular during the reign of Mahendrapāla II.

Devapāla succeeded his brother Mahendrapāla II in about AD 948-49. The Siyadoni stone inscription found in the precincts of the Jaina temple of Śāntinātha at Jhansi mentions a large number of donations made at different times by some feudatories and private individuals in favour of the god Viṣṇu and various other Brahmanical gods at Siyadoni (modern Siron).[29] He probably was a devotee of Viṣṇu. After Devapāla his brother Vijayapāla occupied the throne of the Gurjara-Pratihāra kingdom in AD 960. During his reign a Kacchwiha (Kacchapaghāta) chief named Vajradhamma, the founder of a local dynasty, captured Gwalior.[30] Rājyapāla succeeded his father Vijayapāla in AD 1018.[31] In January AD 1019 Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni attacked Kanauj and Rājyapāla did not defend his capital. He fled from his capital city and took shelter at Bārī on the other side of the Ganges.

As a result it fell into the hands of Sultan Mahmud. But the latter returned to Ghazni without disturbing the capital. V.A. Smith says, "The pusillanimous submission of Rājyapāla incensed his Hindu allies, who felt that he had betrayed their cause. His fault was sternly punished by an army under the command of Vidhyādhara, heir apparent of the Chandella king, Ganda, supported by the forces of his feudatory, the chief of Gwalior, which attacked Kanauj in the spring or summer of AD 1019, soon after the departure of Sultan Mahmud and slew Rājyapāla, whose diminished dominions passed under the rule of Trilocanapāla".[32] Sultan Mahmud in about AD 1020 returned to India and invaded Bārī, the new Gurjara-Pratihāra capital and also attacked the Chandella territory without any difficulty.[33]

Nothing much is known about Trilocanapāla (AD 1027) and his successors. The Jhūsī grant inscription of AD 1027 was found at Jhūsī which was situated on the left bank of the Ganges, opposite the city of Allahabad.[34] It belonged to the reign of Trilocanapāla. It says that Trilocanapāla having bathed in the Ganges and having worshipped Śiva, gave Asurābhaka-viṣaye-Labhuṇḍāka-grāma to 6000 Brāhmaṇas.[35] This shows that Trilocanapāla was a worshipper of Lord Śiva. The Kara stone inscription refers to a prince named Yaśaḥpāla who reigned in AD 1037 near Allahabad.[36] Probably, he was a Gurjara-Pratihāra prince and was a successor of Trilocanapāla. It is very probable that after the plunder, destruction and desertion of Kanauj and Bārī, Rājyapāla's successors went towards the eastern portion of the kingdom. Towards the close of the eleventh century AD. Chandradeva, the Gāhaḍavāla ruler conquered and occupied Kanauj.

R.S. Tripathi says about the religious condition of the kingdom of these Pratihāra kings. He describes, "The eclectic tendencies of the times were remarkably reflected in the religious ideals of the royal family, for although the Pratihāra kings were all officially Brahmanical Hindus, they did not confine their spiritual allegiance to one and the same deity. Nāgabhaṭa, the founder of the Kanauj dynasty, along with Mihira, Bhoja and Mahendrapāla I are described in inscriptions as devotees of Bhagavati, whereas Rāmabhadra and Mahīpāla are said to have been devotees of the sun-god. Bhoja II and Mahendrapāla II, on the other hand, are respectively represented as Vaiṣṇava and Maheśvara. Of these, Bhoja I appears to have been devoted to a special manifestation of Viṣṇu also, as is clear from his Ādivarāha type of coins, and Mahīpāla had predilections for the worship of Bhagavatī as well as of the sun, the image of the former occurring on his seal. Thus three facts reveal themselves clearly; first Buddhism had now distinctly declined in the Madhyadeśa, and the

veneration of the Brahmanical gods was firmly re-established. This is further confirmed by land-grants, which are invariably in favour of Brāhmaṇas. Secondly, the worship of Bhagavatī is prominent. Thirdly, this frank divergence in beliefs must have engendered a great spirit of toleration. We must not, however, mistake it for its modern conception, as between these rival sects there was no such gulf as yawns between Hinduism, Christianity and Islam, and their votaries hardly differed from one another in actual life and practice. The Brāhmaṇas on the whole allowed people to select the object of their faith from among the gods and goddesses of their extensive pantheon, but this latitude was not extended beyond the pale of Brahmanism; and as an instance of Brahmanical bigotry we may cite the notorious declaration of Puṣyamitra setting a price of one hundred gold pieces on the head of every Buddhist monk (*Yo me śramaṇaśiro dāsyati tasyāhaṃ dīnāraśataṃ dāsyāmi*)."[37]

GENEALOGY

The Gurjara-Pratihāra Kings of Kanauj[38]

- Raghu
  - Lakṣmaṇa
    - Nāgabhaṭa alias Nāgavaloka
    - (Name unknown)
      - Kakuṣṭha alias Kakkuka
      - Devaśakti or Devarāja
        - Vatsarāja
          - Nāgabhaṭa II alias Nāgavaloka
            - Rāmabhadra
              - Bhoja I alias Mihira alias Adivarāha
                - Mahendrapāla or Mahindrapāla or Mahendrāyudha alias Nirbhayarājanarendra
                  - Dehanāgadevī
                    - Bhojadeva II
                  - Mahīdevī or Mahādevī
                    - Mahīpāla alias Kṣitipāla alias Vināyakapāla alias Herambapāla
                      - Mahendrapāla II
                        - Vināyakapāla II
                      - Devapāla
                        - ?
                          - Mahīpāla II
                            - ?
                              - Vatsarāja II
                      - Vijayapāla
                        - Rājyapāla
                          - Barujaybal
                            - Bhīmapāla
                          - Trilocanapāla
                            - Yaśaḥpāla

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[1]*EHI*, 340. [2]Ibid. [3]Ibid.
[4]Ibid., 393. [5]Ibid. [6]Ibid.
[7]Ibid. [8]Ibid., 393-94. [9]Ibid., 394.
[10]Ibid. [11]Ibid. [12]Ibid., *HKMC*, 248.
[13]*DHNI*, I, 569-71. [14]*EHI*, 394. [15]*DHNI*, I, 571.
[16]*HKMC*, 248; *IA*, 1918, 110.
[17]*HKMC*, 249; *APRASICC*, 5, 920-21.
[18]*HKMC*, 249; *ARASI*, 1923-24, 101-2.
[19]*HKMC*, 249; *ARASI*, 1925-26, 141; *JBORS*, 1928, 505.
[20]*DHNI*, I, 576.
[21]Ibid., 576, fn 1: "The Muralas may have inhabited the banks of the river Murala which is identified by some with the river Narbadā. But in the *Raghuvaṃśa* the river is placed after the Kerala country. The Mekalas probably lived in the region round about the Maikal Range (Amarkaṇṭaka) in the Central Provinces. The Kulutas were taken

by Cunningham to be the inhabitants of Yuan Chwang's kin-lu-to "which c rresponds exactly with the position of the district of Kullu in the upper valley of the Byas river." The position indicated is roughly the modern Kangra district. The Ramaṭhas "must be a neighbouring people, as they are placed with Pāñcanadas in the western division in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* and with the Kulindas in the northern division in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* ...."

[22]Ibid., I, 577-79. [23]Ibid., 577. [24]*EHI*, 395.
[25]*DHNI*, I, 580; *EI*, VII, 38.
[26]*DHNI*, I, 582-83; *IA*, XII, 190-95; XVIII, 1897, 90.
[27]*DHNI*, I, 583-84; *IA*, XVI, 1877, 173-75.
[28]*DHNI*, I, 585-87; *EI*, XIV, 176-88. [29]*DHNI*, I, 587.
[30]*EHI*, 395. [31]Ibid. [32]Ibid.
[33]Ibid., 398. [34]*DHNI*, I, 609. [35]Ibid.; *IA*, XVIII, 33-35.
[36]*DHNI*, I, 609. [37]*HKMC*, 290-91.
[38]*DHNI*, I, 611; *HKMC*, 383-85.

4. THE GĀHAḌAVĀLAS OF KANAUJ

Chandradeva

The rise of a new imperial power took place in the Ganges-Jumnā valley a little before AD 1090.[1] It had already extended itself from Benares to Kanauj.[2] Its rulers became known as the Gāhaḍavālas or Gaharwars.[3] From the genealogical lists of the kings of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty we learn that one Yaśovigraha came to this earth when the kings of the solar race went to heaven.[4] This may indicate that Yaśovigraha flourished after the downfall of the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings who belonged to the solar race.[5] There is no reference to Yaśovigraha as a royal personage. None of the numerous Gāhaḍavāla grants mentions his royal title. He was "a noble (personage) ... (who) by his plentiful splendour (was) as it were the sun incarnate."[6] The genealogical lists then mention the name of Mahīcandra.[7] He defeated the host of his enemies, and by entrusting to his arm the whole burden of the earth, Śeṣa enjoyed permanent comfort.[8] This suggests that by the strength of his prowess probably he occupied the position of a petty chief. Because no grant refers to his royal title. His son was Chandradeva. In most of the grants of the Gāhaḍavālas there are references to Chandradeva who conquered and occupied Kanauj (Kānyakubja) or Gadhipura by the prowess of his own arms.[9] The Basahi plate of Govindachandra describes, "When on the death of King Bhoja and King Karṇa, the world became troubled, he (Chandradeva) came to the rescue and became king and established his capital at Kānyakubja".[10] Karṇa of this passage was the great Kālacuri king Lakṣmī-Karṇa, who died before AD 1072.[11] It is generally believed that Chandradeva established himself as a sovereign ruler some time during the period 1072-92.[12] The Set or Sahet

Mahet inscription of Vidyādhara of AD 1119-20, mentions that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas Gopāla and Madana were the local rulers of Kanauj on that date and in the years immediately preceding it but they were not the Gāhaḍavālas.[13] This record refers to Gopāla as Gādhipurādhīpa.[14] But nothing is known about Madana. This gives us indication that he was a feudatory of the Gāhaḍavālas.[15] H.C. Ray says that from the time of Chandradeva onwards the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were regarded as the local rulers of Kanauj.[16] He mentions further that "though by reason of its importance Kanauj was regarded as one of the capitals of the Gāhaḍavālas, they habitually resided in some other city. It suggests that this city was Benares."[17] Because several inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavālas were found near Benares. Even the Muslim chronicles describe the Gāhaḍavālas as kings of Benares.[18] The Chandella or Chandella inscriptions also mention that they were rulers of Kāśī.[19] H.C. Ray says, "Under the circumstances, the assumption of the title 'Lord of Kānyakubja' may be explained by the fact that the halo of imperialism probably still lingered on the battered turrets of the forts of Kanauj. The person who acquired its sovereignty could therefore flatter himself with the belief that he was the overlord of northern India. The area under the control of Candradeva is possibly indicated by the claim, uniformly made in many Gāhaḍavāla grants, that he protected the holy places (*tīrtha*) of Kāśī, Kuśika, Uttara-Kośala and Indrasthāna. If the suggestion of Hall, that Indrasthāna is to be identified with Indraprastha or Old Delhi, be accepted, this would show that Candradeva became practically the ruler of nearly the whole area now known as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh."[20]

Several inscriptions of the reign of Chandradeva were discovered. The Chandrāvatī grant (I) was found near the fort at Chandrāvatī in the Benares district.[21] It begins with 'Om svasti' and invokes the goddess Śrī. It mentions the grant of the Vadagavā-grāma[22] in the Vāvana-Pattalā to the Brahman Varuneśvaya (ra ?) Śarman by Pb.-M.-P.—Parama-Maheśvara-nija-bhujopārjita-Śrī-Kānyakubjādhipatya-Śrī-Candradeva.[23] It also says that the donor at first bathed in the neighbourhood of Śauri-Nārāyaṇa and then worshipped the Sun and Vāsudeva. After doing all these things he made this gift. This grant was written in AD 1090 by Thakkura Mahanainda.[24] The Chandrāvatī grant (II) which was enclosed in a strong box of stone was found near the fort at Chandrāvatī in the Benares district.[25] It refers to the grant of the Pattalā of Kaṭhehalī[26] 'with the exception of certain villages given to temples, Brāhmaṇas, etc.' to 500 Brāhmaṇas in AD 1093.[27] The donor was Candradeva. He gave the village of Sarisoda in Bṛhadṛhavamkāṇai (sic ?)-Pattalā for the residence of donees.[28] The donor after bathing at the Svargadvāra-tīrtha at the

confluence of the Sarayū and Ghargharā in Ayodhyā, also called Uttara-Kośala offered this grant to donee.[29]

An inscription of Madanapāla describes that Candradeva, the father of Madanapāla, gave the village of Ahuāma in the Dhaṇesaramaṇa-Pattalā to the Brāhmaṇa-Vāmanesvāmi-Śarman in AD 1097.[30] It says that Candradeva at first took bath in the Ganges at the *ghāt* of the divine holy Trilocana at Benares and then he made this grant.[31]

The Candrāvatī grant (III) of AD 1110 was found near the fort at Candrāvatī in the district of Benares. It describes that "this grant was made after a munificent gift of gold and other valuables equal to the king's weight (*tulā-puruṣa*) and a thousand cows before the image of the god Ādi-Keśava."[32] It mentions the grant of 30 villages in the Bṛhadṛhavaratha (sic ?) - Pattalā and two villages in the Kaṭhehali-Pattalā to 500 Brāhmaṇas.[33] It also says that the villages of Majauda which was located in the Vaṃkānai-Pattalā was dedicated to the maintenance of the shrine of Candra-Mādhava[34] at Candrāvatī.[35] Thus from the inscriptions mentioned above we learn that Brahmanism flourished to a great extent during the reign of Candradeva. They show us that the latter was a devout worshipper of the Sun, Vāsudeva and Ādi-Keśava, which are the two names of Lord Kṛṣṇa. Some scholars think that a Śvetāmbara Jain temple in Candrautī is still known to the local inhabitants as Candramādho."[36] This suggests the prevalence of Jainism in the kingdom of Candradeva. But no record refers to Buddhism in his reign.

Madanapāla

Madanapāla succeeded his father Candradeva in AD 1104.[37] Several inscriptions of his reign were found. The Basahi grant was discovered in the village of Basahi two miles to the north-east of the headquarters town of the Bidhuna Tahsil (Etawah district, U.P.).[38] The inscription begins with an invocation to Viṣṇu under the names of Vāsudeva and Dāmodara. It says that Mahārājaputra Govindcandra, who was a son of Madanapāla, after taking bath in the river Yamunā at Asatikā[39] and having offered his prayer to the Sun, Śiva and Vāsudeva and having worshipped them also, gave the village of Vasabhī in the Jiāvatī-Pattalā on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti to the Brahman Alheka in AD 1104.[40] The Kamaulī grant of AD 1105 was found in the village of Kamaulī near the confluence of the Baraṇa of Baruṇa and the Ganges at Benares. The inscription describes that Mahārājaputra Govindacandra at first took his bath in the Ganges, and then worshipped the Sun, Śiva and Vāsudeva. Afterwards he gave the village of Usithā (?) in the Jiāvatī-Pattalā in the

Pañcāla-deśa to the Brahman Vilhākāya Dīkṣita. Another inscription mentions that Pṛthvīśrikā, who was a queen, gave the village of Bahuvara in the Bhailavata-Pattala to the Purohita Devavara and other Brāhmaṇas.[41] The Rahan grant was found at Rahan in the Etawah district in U.P. It opens with *Oṃ Paramātmane namaḥ* and invokes Lakṣmī and Vaikuṇṭha. It says that Rāṇaka Lavarāpravāha gave part of the village of Rāmaitha in the Sigurodha-Pattalā to the Brahman Guṇacandra.[42] All these inscriptions give us clear indication that Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and the Sun-worship prospered in the kingdom of Madanapāla under the patronage of the king, queen and their people.

Govindacandra

Madanapāla's son was Govindacandra. It is very probable that sometime before AD 1114 the latter ascended the throne of Gāhaḍavāla dynasty.[43] He enjoyed a long and prosperous reign. His numerous land-grants and widely distributed coins prove that he succeeded to a large extent in restoring the glories of Kanauj, and in making himself a power of considerable importance.[44]

It is significant that about forty-two inscriptions of Govindacandra were found. They are important no doubt. Because they throw flood of light on the social, political and religious conditions during the rule of Govindacandra. His inscriptions give us sufficient evidence to show the prosperity of Buddhism in his kingdom. They indicate that it flourished side by side with Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and the Sun-worship which became very prominent under the patronage of Gāhaḍavāla rulers, queens, royal officers and their people.

The Saheth-Maheth grant of (Vikrama) Saṃvat 1186 i.e., AD 1128-29 or 1129-30 was found in a monastery on the site of Saheth (Set) on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts.[45] It contains 27 lines. It records that the donor Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramamaheśvara Govindacandra after bathing in the Ganges and Vārāṇasī and having worshipped Vāsudeva and other gods in AD 1128-29 or 1129-30 gave the villages of Vihāra, Paṭṭanā,[46] Upalauṇḍa, Vavvahalī,[47] Meyī-sambaddha Ghosādī[48] and Pothivāra-sambaddha-Payāsi[49] in the Vida (ja)- Caturasiti-Pattala to the *Saṃgha* of the Buddhist friars (Śākyabhikṣu) of whom Buddhabhaṭṭāraka is the chief residing in the Jetavana-mahāvihāra.[50] The gift was made by the donor having been gratified, by the Saugata-parivrājaka-mahāpaṇḍita Śākyarakṣita, a (resident) of the Utkala-deśa and his disciple, the Saugata-parivrājaka-mahāpaṇḍita Vāgīśvararakṣita (a resident) of the Coda-deśa.[51] The inscription says, "The victorious and glorious king, the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara,

Paramamaheśvara Govindacandra whose feet are honoured by the entire circle of kings; who is (another) Vācaspati in investigating the various sciences, who is the lord of the three kings, viz., the Asvapati (lord of horses), the Gajapati (lord of elephants) and Narapati (lord of men); who meditates on the foot of the illustrious Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramamaheśvara Madanapāladeva, who in his time meditated on the foot of the illustrious Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramamaheśvara Candradeva who acquired the sovereignty over Kānyakubja by (the strength of) his own arms,—orders, informs, and commands all the people assembled, residing in the villages of vihāra in the district of Vādacaturaśīti, of Paṭṭanā, Upalauṇḍā, Vavvahalī, Ghosādī attached to Meyī and of Payāsī attached to Pothivāra as well as the kings, queens, heirs-apparent, ministers, priests, door-keepers, generals, treasurers, record-keepers, physicians, astrologers, chamberlains, messengers and officers charged with the care of elephants, horses, towns, mines, *sthānas* and *gokulas* in the following manner:

Be it known to you that, having been gratified by the Saugata-parivrājaka, the Mahāpaṇḍita Śākyarakṣita (is resident) of the Utkala country, and his disciple, the Saugata-parivrājaka, the Mahāpaṇḍita Vāgīśvararakṣita (a resident) of the Coḍa country, I have today on a Monday, the Pūrṇimā *tithi* of the month of Āṣāḍha (the moon being) in the Pūrvāṣaḍhā *nakṣatra* in the year comprising eleven hundred increased by eighty-six also in figures Saṃvat 1186, Āṣāḍha Sudī 15 Monday, after bathing in the Ganges at the holy Vārāṇasī; propitiating the sacred texts, divinities, sages, men, beings and the group of the deceased ancestors; adoring the sun, whose lustre can dispel heaps of darkness; worshipping the moon crested (Śiva); worshipping Vāsudeva the protector of the three worlds; and after offering to (the god of) fire an oblation rich in milk-rice bestowed again by a charter for the enhancement of the merit and fame of my parents and of myself; by (pouring) from the palm of my hand water sanctified by the *gokarṇa* and the *kuśa* grass with a great satisfaction of the heart for enjoyment in the manner of other convents for (as long as) the moon and the sun (endure), the six villages named above, together with water and dry land, mines of iron and salt; repositories (i.e., ponds) of fish, *pallikaras*, pits and deserts up to and including gardens of *Madhuka* and mango (trees), bushes, grass and pasture lands up to their proper limits clearly defined by their four boundaries, with the elevations, and depressions upon the most respectable community (*Saṃgha*) of Buddhist friars (Śākyabhikṣu) of whom Buddhabhaṭṭāraka is the chief, residing in the great convent of the Holy Jetavana. Bearing (this) in mind, and being ready to listen to (our) commands you should (continue to) give (to the donees) the *bhāgabhāgakara*, the *pravaṃkara*, the *turuṣkadaṇḍa* and all the other sources of income that are done.

Under the order of the glorious king Govindacandra this grant was written by Kāyastha Surāditya who is proficient in all Śāstras."[52] This inscription describes that the king at the request of two Buddhist monks, who belonged to the Utkala and Coḍa (Cola) countries, made this grant. It suggests that a close religious tie existed between the two kingdoms.

Paṇḍit Dayā Rām Sāhanī states: "In line 19 the Buddhist ascetic Śākyarakṣita is said to have been a native of Utkala, i.e., Orissa and his disciple Vāgīśvararakṣita belonged to the Coḍa country....The Gāhaḍavāla kings of Kanauj appear to have been in friendly terms with the Coḷas of Tanjore whose dominions extended into the northern circle during the reigns of Kulottuṅga I and Vikrama Coḷa. It is not certain if Vāgīśvararakṣita came from the Tamil country or from the vicinity of Amarāvatī which was included in the dominions of the Coḷa king at that time. We know very little of the history of Buddhism in the Tamil country. But there is no doubt that there were adherents of that creed down to the 13th century AD in the country around Amarāvatī in the Guntur district. Besides, Kumāradevī, the Buddhist queen of Govindachandra, was the daughter of a chief of Pīṭhī. Konow says it is possible to identify Pīṭhī with Piṭhāpuram in the modern Godāvarī district of the Madras Presidency. If this be the case, it is no matter for surprise that the two Buddhist ascetics who pleased Govindacandra were natives of Orissa and the Coḍa country. Probably, they were introduced to the king by his queen Kumāradevī who probably brought about, either directly or indirectly, the gift recorded in the subjoined inscription. The sentence "*puner api śāsanikṛtya grāmā ime śad api dattā*—these villages were given again by a charter" implies that these villages had originally been granted to the Buddhist vihāra by Jetavana, but for some reason or other resumed subsequently. At Sārnāth, queen Kumāradevī restored the 'Lord of the turning of the Wheel' and erected a vihāra for her accommodation. It is not impossible that the same queen also infused fresh life into the Buddhist establishment at Jetavana by sending for the two Buddhist ascetics and introducing the king to restore the six villages which once belonged to the vihāra."[53]

The Sārnāth stone inscription was dug out to the north of the Dhamekh Stūpa to the south of the raised mound running east and west over the remnants of the old monasteries of the Gupta period.[54] The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a vihāra by Kumāradevī, one of the queens of Govindacandra of Kanauj.

Jambuki drew up a copperplate in which she represented to Kumāradevī that the Dharmacakra-Jina originally set up by Dharmāśoka required to be repaired or set up again. Kumāradevī who was apparently a stranger to the country around Benares accepted her representation.[55] The inscription contains 29 lines. It begins with *Om namo bhagavatyai ārya-Vasudhārāyi* and it invokes Vasudhārā and the Moon.[56] It has four parts. The first three parts refer to the rulers of Pīṭhī, Aṅga and the Gāhaḍavālas.[57]

Rulers of Pīṭhī[58]	*Rulers of Aṅga*	*Gāhaḍavālas*
In the Cikkoravaṃsa of the lunar race	(Rāṣṭrakūṭa)	I
I	I	Candra
Vallabharāja	Mahana	I
I	I	Madanacandra
Devarakṣita	Śaṃkharādevī	I
	I	Govindacandra
	Kumāradevī	

The fourth part of the inscription (verses 21-23) specifies the gifts of Kumāradevī and her praise is sung in verse 24. Verses 25-26 then inform us that the inscription, which is here called a *praśasti*, was composed by the poet Śrī Kuṇḍa and engraved by Vāmana.[59] The fourth part says: "Jambuki having represented that the Dharmacakra Jina originally set up by Dharmāśoka required to be repaired, Kumāradevī restored the Jina (or set up a new one) and placed it in a new vihāra built for the purpose. Jambuki was made the foremost of all *pattalikās* by the queen."[60] The inscription describes, "Kumāradevī, forsooth, was famous, with that king, like Śrī with Viṣṇu and her praises were sung in the three worlds and in the splendid harem of that king, she was indeed like the streak of the moon amongst the stars.

The vihāra, an ornament to the earth, the round of which consists of nine segments was made by her, and decorated as it were by Vasudhārā herself in the shape of Tāriṇī, and even the creator himself was taken with wonder. When he saw it accomplished with the highest skill in the applying of wonderful arts and looking handsome with (the images of) gods.

Having prepared that copperplate grant which recorded the gift to Śrī-Dharmacakra-Jina, for so long a time as moon and sun endure on earth, and having given it to her that Jambuki was made the foremost of all *pattalikās* by her (Kumāradevī).

This Lord of the Turning of the Wheel was restored by her in accordance with the way in which he existed in the days of Dharmāśoka, the ruler of men, and even more wonderfully and this vihāra for that Sthāvira was elaborately erected by her, and might be, placed there, stay there as long as moon and sun (endure).

If anyone on the surface of the world preserves her fame, she will be intent on bowing down at his pair of feet. You Jinas shall be witnesses. But if any fool robs her fame, then those *lokapālas* will quickly punish that wicked man in their wrath.

The poet in eight *bhāṣās* known as the trusted friend of the Baṅga king, Śrī Kunda by name, the learned, who was the only lion to attack the crowds of the elephant-like heretics, who was a Rohaṇa mountain of the fleshing jewels of poetical composition, he made this eulogy of her charming with strings of letters beautifully arranged.

This *praśasti* has been engraved by the śilpin Vāmana on this excellent stone which rivals the Rājāvarta."[61] Thus the Sārnāth inscription describes that Kumāradevī restored the Lord of the Turning of the Wheel[62] (Dharmacakra-Jina) in accordance with the form in which it existed in the time of Dharmāśoka, "the ruler of men." Kumāradevī was a daughter of Devarakṣita, the king of Pīṭhī of the Cikkora clan and Śaṅkaradevī, who was the daughter of the Aṅga ruler Mahana of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family.[63] It is to be noted here that the marriage of Kumāradevī, a Buddhist, with an orthodox Hindu like Govindachandra proves that the matrimonial alliances between Buddhists and Brāhmaṇas were possible at this time, although such instances must have been rare.[64]

Govindachandra ruled for about forty years. He waged wars against the later Yaminīs of the Punjab, the Pālas of Bihar and Bengal, the Senas of Bengal, and the Kālacuri rulers. But he established friendly relations with the Chandellas of northern India and the Choḷa rulers of southern India. He was a powerful ruler. He issued numerous coins. His coins with the figures of the bull and horseman, (the seated goddess) *triśūla*, the seated goddess Lakṣmī etc. were found.[65] Govindacandra had atleast four queens. His inscriptions give the names of the three queens. They were: the Paṭṭamahādevī Mahārājñī Nayanakalidevī, the Paṭṭamahādevī Mahārājñī Gosaladevī, the Paṭṭamahādevī Mahārājñī Kumāradevī.[66] It is very probable that they embraced Buddhism as their religion.[67] In the colophon of a Nepal MS. of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā there is a reference to the name of another Buddhist queen of Govindacandra.[68] It says, "Śrī-Śrī-Kāñyakubjādhipatya-Aśvapati-Gajapatirājya-trayādhipati-Śrī-mad-Govindacandra-devasya pratāpa-vaśataḥ rājñī-Śrī-pravara-Mahāyāna-Yāyinyāḥ paramaopāsika rājñī Vasantadevyā deyadharma'yam."[69] R.S. Tripathi mentions that some scholars try to identify the last two on the ground that they were Buddhists.[70] But it

is generally believed that Vasantadevī was another Buddhist queen of Govindacandra.[71]

Vijayacandra

Govindacandra had at least three sons.[72] The Benares grant of AD 1133 refers to the Mahārājaputra-Yuvarāja-Āsphoṭacandra.[73] The Gagana grant of AD 1143 mentions the Mahārājaputra Rājyapāladeva.[74] The Benares grant describes Asphoṭacandra as Yuvarāja (heir-apparent) which indicates that he was considered for the throne. The Kamauli grant of Vijayacandra says that Govindacandra's successor was Vijayacandra.[75] Some scholars think that Asphoṭacandra and Rājyapāla probably died before their father's death. That was the reason why their names were not mentioned for the throne, and Vijayacandra ascended the throne after Govindacandra. The Kamauli grant of Vijayacandra of AD 1168 gives us indication about the development of Vaiṣṇavism during the reign of Vijaycandra. The latter records that "with his consent the Mahārājaputra Yuvarāja Jayacandra, in (v)Samvat 1221 (AD 1168), on being initiated as a worshipper of the god Kṛṣṇa, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī near the (Temple of) god Ādi-Keśava, granted the village of Haripura in the Jiāvai-Paṭṭanā to the preceptor of Vaiṣṇava worship, the Mahāpurohita Praharāja Śarman, son of Mahāpurohita Dīkṣita Jagu."[76]

Jayacandra

After Vijayacandra, his son Jayacandra ascended the throne of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty in AD 1170. V.A. Smith states, "The grandson of Govindacandra was Jayacandra, renowned in the popular Hindi poems and tales of northern India as Rājā Jaicand, whose daughter was carried off by the gallant Rai Pithora of Ajmer. He was known to the Muhammadan historian as the king of Benares, which perhaps may be regarded as having been his capital, and was reputed the greatest king in India."[77] It is said that he extended his territories from the borders of China to the province of Mālavā, and from the sea to within ten days journey of Lahore.[78] But according to V.A. Smith, "it is difficult to believe that it can have been really so extensive."[79]

A Buddhist inscription from Bodh Gayā of the reign of Jayacandradeva dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1240 was found.[80] The characters are Nāgarī of the twelfth century AD. The language of the record is Sanskrit. As the first word of the Chronogram is missing, it is not possible to make an exact calculation of the date. It is evident, however, that the date falls somewhere within the period AD 1183-92.[81] Some scholars refer to the missing word to be equivalent to 'S' and then give date as VS 1245. But that is, however, a mere surmise.[82] The Bodh Gayā stone inscription gives us an account of Buddhism in the kingdom of Jayacandra. It was found in Bodh Gayā in the district of Gayā in Bihar. It opens with *Oṃ namo Buddhāya* and then praises the Ādi-Buddha, the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara, Ekajaṭā, Śrīghana (Buddha) and the monk Śrīmitra. This last person is described as the Dīkṣā-guru of the Kāśīśa Jayacandra.[83] The inscription records the construction of a large cave (*guhā*) at Jayapura, "with Siṃhandā in front and bearing therein the images of Ugratārā, with her hands raised upwards, Dattatārā, adored in the morning and (another Tārā) draped in orange clothes, in the *vatsara* of king Vikramāṅka measured by the ... Vedas (4), eyes (2), and the moon (1), 124 ...?" Manoratha composed it. It is to be noted here that like his predecessors Jayacandra was a follower of Brahmanism. He was a devout worshipper of Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu. But he extended his great patronage to Buddhism and paid his homage to Bodhisattvas. Though the Gāhaḍavāla rulers were followers of Brahmanism, but they showed their tolerant attitude towards other religions. That is why, the different systems of beliefs flourished in their kingdom.

The inscription says, Oṃ, adoration to Buddha! May that smiling nature, revealed through the mark of a cluster of high lustres rising from a crescent (lit. young) moon, looking like rows of large tooth of fully expanded and charming beauty, the cause of the emanation of Sarvajña, with the scripture as a weapon, freeing the three worlds of ills, by the shoots, manifest all around, of the light of a multitude of pure, noble and great virtues, growing within, confer prosperity upon you.

May that Lokeśvara, the lord with the lustre of the autumn moon, caused as if by the radiation of a mass of light springing from the flow of knowledge of the world. Gleaming bright in his heart, whose wonderful sympathy of which the essence is mercy, shines forth in the guise of the beauty of his bright, clean, rosy nails, grant welfare unto you.

May Ekajaṭā, who has made the world flourish, who holds by her the uplifted sword of all-pervading mercy, like a flag of white lustre formed of the peculiar excellence of the mind consisting of the grace devoted to the multitude of dependent sentient beings, bestow good fortunes upon you.

Here lived a great saint Śrīmitra by name, who was the foremost of the class of enlightened *siddhas*, who was brought to being by the merits of the three worlds and by whom all the sentient beings were invited for redemption.

It is wonder that at the benevolence of him, who was the object of

universal confidence, on account of his being inclined to affection (marked by) his uplifted hands, all the animals delighted,—the ferocious shaking off their ferocity, the passionate their anger, and the timid their fear, by sweet looks, embraces and the shower of nectar, were representing their heart having been purged of the mass of impurities.

With a mind free from duality and delighting to sport in life with the maiden of emancipation, he disdainfully looked a little through the corner of his eyes at the eight charming *siddhas*[84] with a passion for virtues, who, in quest of a lord, went up to him, possessing excellence, skilled (as he was) in leaving afflictions away, and he lay at his feet.

Being free from all desires, yet in (his) compassion, intent on delivering the world and endowed with the highest vision, with the achievements of the Enlightened One as his highest aim, who guided the rulers of the earth addicted to the wrong path and are long made them renowned for the worship of Śrīghna.[85]

He was always quickly giving away without any attachment even what did cross the mind of the supplicant, wherefore the 'thought-gem' famous for yielding things desired became dull in shame.

Of (his) fame, of which the body was rising upwards, which was ever gaining prosperity in many ways and which even fully touched the abode of Brahmā, the wonderful and thriving whiteness, having bathed again and again from its birth in the waters of the river of countless immortals, was equalled in achievement with Śeṣa and (thus) proclaimed in the three worlds for as long as the cycle continues.

Of that emancipated being the illustrious Jayacandradeva the attainment of whose sovereignty was proclaimed all over the expanse of the earth, who was of clear understanding and who was served by a hundred king, because, out of reverence, himself the disciple with a pleasing heart on indescribable hankering.

The pilot of the faith and the initiating preceptor of the king of Kāśī, he restored the discipline and recovered the numerous collection of lost scriptures and others of the same kind, belonging to the illustrious side of the Mahābodhi.

It is this accomplished, all knowing, and illustrious friend of the world, free from impurities, that made this large cave here in the auspicious Jayapura, with Siṃhanāda in front and bearing therein (image of) Ugratārā,[86] with her hand raised upwards, Dattatārā,[87] adored in the morning and (another Tārā) draped in orange clothes,[88] fair as the evening clouds and at the same time shrines for these three in the courts, eventually to last in the month of Jaiṣṭha,

in the year of King Vikramāṅka indicated by the arrangement of the number (composed) by the figures represented by—'Vedas', 'eyes' and 'moon'.

Manoratha, son of the illustrious Sida, the best of the Kāyastha race ... who was like a bee of the lotus-feet of the virtuous composed this eulogium.

The illustrious Pūrṇadeva, the adored scribes, copied it down (on the slab) and the patient artisan (Dhārādhara) engraved it with a chisel."[89]

It is known from historical records that Muhammed Ghuri or Sihab-ud-din Ghori in AD 1193 advanced towards Kanauj and Benares and overthrew Jayachandra in the vicinity of Chandwar in the Etawah district near the Jumnā. V.A. Smith says, "Sihab-ud-din met him at Chandwar in the Etawah district near the Jumnā, and having defeated his huge host with immense slaughter, in which the Rājā was included, passed on to Benares, which he plundered, carrying off the treasure on 1400 camels. Thus ends the story of the independent kingdom of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj."[90]

A Buddhist stone inscription was discovered at Set Mahat (Saheth Mahet), the ancient Śrāvastī. It was found in the Jetavana mound, in the ruins of an essentially Buddhist building with monastic cells; in a stratum which indicated that it had been placed in a restored building.[91] The inscription is dated in the year (of the Vikrama era) 1276, which corresponds to AD 1219-20. It is of some interest as showing that Buddhism had not become extinct in northern India in the first half of the 13th century AD. For it records that a certain Vidyādhara, son of Janaka, and grandson of Bilvaśiva, of the Vāstavya family, established a convent for Buddhist ascetics at the town where the inscription was originally put up. Janaka, the father of Vidyādhara, is described as the counsellor of Gopāla, ruler of Gādhipura or Godhipura or Kānyakubja; and Vidyādhara appears to have held a similar position under the prince Madana, probably a senior of Gopāla. The town where the convent was established is called Jāvṛṣa (or possibly Ajavṛīṣa); it is said to have been built by Māndhātā, of the solar race, and to have had its protection entrusted to Kārkoṭa.[92] But some scholars refer to its date VS 1176 which is equivalent to AD 1119 or 1120.[93] The place Jāvṛīṣa (Ajavṛīṣa) has not yet been identified. According to some scholars, it was Jaunpur or some place close to it. Jaunpur had an older name which is as yet unknown; there is near it a fort overhanging the river which was called Kararkot; and four miles to the south-east of Kararkot, on the site of the present Zafarabad, stood the palace of the later kings of Kanauj, with whom this was a favourite residence.[94] But the distance between Jaunpur

and the place, where the inscription was found, was about 130 miles.[95] Some scholars refer to this inscription in the reign of Jayachandra. But we know that the latter was defeated and killed by Sihab-ud-din Ghori in AD 1193. H.C. Ray mentions its date AD 1119-20 and says further that it belonged to the reign of Govindachandra. According to him, King Madana was a feudatory of Govindachandra.

The inscription says: "Oṃ! Adoration to him—who is free from passions! May the illustrious Śākya lion protect you!—he who, having at the rising of truth (first) restrained the eight Māras (and then) attracted to himself the lords over the regions, having treated with contempt the difficult-to-be transgressed words of command of the enemy Sambara, full of zeal through compassion exerted himself to deliver the world; and who, having reached the Bodhi-tree, attained the status of a Buddha.

To cross the ocean of worldly existence, I adore the saving Bhāratī, whose eyes have protruding pupils, the goddess presiding over the utterances of gods.

In the race of the Sun there was, surpassing the splendour of the sun, the universal sovereign, the first of kings, named Mandhātā, conquering enemies, equal to Indra, ever gladdening well protecting the three worlds.

Once upon a time roaming about at his pleasure, he saw a pleasant lake whose waters were variegated with lines of the pollen of lotuses, (and which was) charming with the cries of flocks of sweetly singing birds in it; and having strenuously filled it with earth, he who delighted in good conduct, to make a canopy for his fame, then built this town of his, named Jāvṛīṣa, the protection of which was entrusted to Karkota.

In it there were wealthy (and) very fortunate (people), lights of the illustrious Vastavvya family by the splendid fame of whose race the worlds are rendered white even now.

As the moon (is born) from the ocean, so in their family there was a personage shining like the moon whose name Bilvaśiva was famous; devoted as he was to the lotus-feet of (Śiva) the enemy of the god of love, his wealth was an object of enjoyment to the twice-born, to virtuous people, and supplicants.

He an ocean of benevolence, who was counteracting by his noble conduct, had a son Janaka, a unique home of the elevation of the good, a birth-place of fortune, a site of goodness, with a heart kind to people, the foremost of the good, the honoured wise counsellor of the ruler of Gādhipura named Gopāla.

He, who well maintained the prosperity of his family married the daughter of a noble race Jijjā who was causing joy to her mother's

family, (and who), inasmuch as her lovely body possessed imperishable ornaments, who was Lakṣmī, born from the ocean, where lovely body beautifies Achyuta (Viṣṇu).

From these two there was born no less than six sons, just as the intelligent progeny of five called Pippata, who one, with one body is endowed with six faces (was born) as the elder son, from Śiva and his consort.

Their fifth son of those (six) resembling the five-arrowed (Kāma) (and) the root of no slight fame who is celebrated for his knowledge of wisdom is named with an appropriate name Vidyādhara 'the holder of wisdom'.

Whose comprehensive mind, full of taste (and) attached to the feet of Śiva, Bhāratī (the goddess of eloquence) never abandoned just as the swan never leaves the extensive Mānasa lake, full of water (and) situated at the foot of the lord of mountains (Himalaya). Vain is the sweetness of honey (and) the proficiency in (creating) joy of the cool-rayed (moon); a sham indeed is the quality of depth of the ocean (and) the height of the mountain; (but) enough I by the excellent qualities of this mountain for the ascent of every single excellency, of this unique receptacle of the abundant sparkling nectar of benevolence, everything whatever that is endowed with excellent qualities has been surpassed.

Him, who knew the secret doctrine regarding elephants, (and) who, unrestrained, bore the burden of elephants that was causing pleasure (to him), the head-ornament of princes, the lord of the earth, Madana, sought to attach to himself by gifts, honours and so forth.

The wealth acquired by him, who spread his fame aloft by (building) temples,—(wealth) which gave relief to people in distress, (and filled) and bellies of those filled with joy at (the receipt of) food,—was sufficient to exceed the multitude of the twice-born supported (by it).

He was as it were another Bodhisattva, such as had never existed before, having assumed a human body for the protection of the multitude of living beings.

Elevated by the knowledge of the soul, (and) with a mind rising above the attachment to passion and other sins of which he was getting rid, having again and again pondered on the indifference towards the doctrine of Sugata, he having resorted to the good path, caused to be built and granted to the ascetics, after the manner of convents, a dwelling causing joy, a unique home as it were of (his own) fame.

Taking delight in whatever is clear to him, the unique home of

produce whose conduct is an object of adoration for people of true knowledge, Udayin (his) kinsman byassociation, whose heart is pure like the moon (and who is) wise (and) accomplished (and) becoming prosperous, has composed (this) eulogy.[96]

It is generally believed that the battle of Chandwar 'put an end to the independent kingdom of Kanauj'.[97] But the Machhlishahr grant of Hariścandra which was found in Koṭwā in the Jaunpur district of U.P. informs us that the "Gāhaḍavālas, though robbed of most of their dominions, were not completely destroyed in AD 1193."[98] The inscription says that "Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-Maheśvara-Aśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-Rājatrayādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vicāra-vācaspati-Hariścandra, while residing at Dhanaṃvakra (?) after bathing in the Ganges at Cyavaneśvara-Ghaṭṭa on Sunday, the 15th *tithi* of the bright half of Pauṣa in Saṃvat 1253 (Sunday, the 6th January AD 1197), granted the village of Pamahai with its *Pātakas* to Rahihiyaka (or Hīhīyaka), son of the Thakkura Madamu of the Kāśyapa *gotra.*"[99] Hariścandra of this grant was the same prince whose Jāta-karman (the birth ceremony, when the naval-string is cut) and Nāma-Karaṇa (name-giving ceremony), ceremonies known from the Kamaulī grant and Benares College grant,[100] were performed by his father Jayachandra in AD 1175.[101] H.C. Ray[102] states that Hariścandra at the time of the Machhlishahr grantwas about 22 years old and he waseighteen years old at the time of the battle of Chandwar. It appears from this inscription that atleast for four years this young prince succeeded in preserving his independence.[103] An inscription of AD 1197 does not say anything about the name of the ruler of Kanauj. Therefore, it is doubtful, whether Hariścandra had any power to control Kanauj and its surrounding region. The Gāhaḍavālas had close connection with Benares and the surrounding territories. It is very probable that Hariścandra reigned for some time in some parts of Benares.

R.S. Tripathi says, "The Gāhaḍavāla kings did not confine their devotions to one member only of the great Hindu pantheon. Thus while they officially describe themselves as "Paramamaheśvara," i.e., "devout worshippers of the god Śiva", their records also invoke in the beginning the blessings of Śrī (Lakṣmī), the goddess of prosperity, and Dāmodara (Gaṇeśa), and on the seals attached to the copper-plates there are representations of the flying Garuḍa and conch-shell, which may indicate their predilections towards Vaiṣṇavism. Indeed, one of the Kamaulī inscriptions even asserts that Jayachandra was initiated, with the consent of his father, as a devotee of the god Kṛṣṇa on the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Āṣāḍha of the Vikrama year 1224, corresponding to Sunday, the 16th of June, AD 1668—the day of his installation to the dignity of Yuvarāja. But so

marked was the royal eclecticism that according to a Bodh-Gayā inscription in later life Jayachandra out of reverence for a Buddhist monk named Śrīmitra, himself became his disciple "with a pleasing heart and an indescribable hankering." Moreover, we are uniformly told in their documents that the Gāhaḍavāla monarchs made grants after having worshipped the sun (*sūrya*), after having praised him (Śiva), after having performed adoration to Vāsudeva, and after having sacrificed to the fire an oblation of abundant milk, rice, and sugar, and after having offered oblations to the manes.[104]

The Gāhaḍavāla kings were regarded as champions of Hinduism. They were followers of Vaiṣṇavism. The official inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty open with an invocation to the goddess Lakṣmī. All these things show that they were worshippers of Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu. The Chandrāvatī inscriptions of the reign of Chandradeva refer to the image of Lord Ādi-Keśava at Kāśī[105] and Chandra-Mādhava.[106] Another inscription of the king mentions Sauri-Nārāyaṇa.[107] Jayachandra took keen interest in the worship of Kṛṣṇa.[108] But the Gāhaḍavāla rulers followed a liberal religious policy. Besides Viṣṇu, they also paid their homage to many other gods of the Hindu pantheon.[109] In their inscriptions they mentioned themselves as Parama-Maheśvara or devotees of Lord Śiva. Vāsudeva and Sūrya were also worshipped by them. The undated Sārnāth inscription of Kumāradevī describes Hari and Hara. Though king Jayachandra was a Śaiva, as his inscription mentions him as Parama-Maheśvara, but he showed his great faith in Buddhism also. The Bodh-Gayā inscription of VS 124 X says that the monk Śrīmitra became the *dīkṣāguru* of Kāśīsa Jayachandra who became his disciple.[110] This informs us that the Gāhaḍavāla rulers were worshippers of the Buddha. Thus Buddhism also flourished in their kingdom. The *Kāmil-ut-Tawārīkh* describes that Jayachandra owned a white elephant.[111] "After the defeat of the Gāhaḍavāla king by Sihab-ud-din Ghurī, a number of Indian elephants were captured and among these, there was a white one. A person who saw it told Ibn Āthīr, the author, that when the elephants were brought before Sihab-ud-din and were ordered to salute, they all saluted except the white one. The white elephant is a rare animal and a sacred one according to the Buddhist scriptures; it is associated with the birth of Buddha and also with his previous births. The statement of the Muslim historian thus endorses the evidence of the mentioned above. The white elephant did not salute Sihab-ud-din because being a sacred animal, it was not taught to do so."[112] Thus Roma Niyogyi mentions: "Though all the Gāhaḍavāla kings were devout worshippers of the Hindu gods and generally practised Hindiusm, their attitude towards other religions was one of catholicity and toleration."[113] Kumāradevī, one of the queens of Govinda-

chandra, was a Buddhist and the Sārnāth inscription informs us that she followed her own religion. His another queen Vasantadevī was also a Buddhist and she was also allowed to follow her own faith. Even Govindachandra also patronised Buddhism. Because he at the request of Saugata-parivrājakas Śākyarakṣita of Utkaladeśa and Vāgīśvararakṣita of Coḍadesa granted six villages.[114] But it is interesting to note here that his above mentioned two queens were not mentioned as *paṭṭamahādevī* or *samastarājaprakriy-opetā* (endowed with all the royal prerogatives), while his Hindu queens received this honour. Govindachandra's marriage with Kumāradevī was undoubtedly of great political importance, for she was the grand-daughter of Mathanadeva Rāṣṭrakūṭa and niece of the Pāla king, Rāmapāla. Still she is not found to have enjoyed the rank given to the Hindu queens. This may be due to the fact that in spite of his catholic outlook Govindachandra, who patronized the revivalist digest-writer and himself followed the Dharmaśāstra injunctions, was an orthodox Hindu and as such he could not very well confer the rank of *paṭṭamahādevī* or chief queen on a wife, who did not share his religious faith and functions.[115]

Genealogy

The Gāhaḍavāla Dynasty

Yaśovigraha
|
Mahichandra
|
Chandradeva
|
Madanachandra
|
Pṛthviśrīkā—(Rālhya or Rālhaṇadevī)
|
Govindachandra

(Nayanakelidevī Gosaladevī) | (Kumāradevī Vasantādevī)

Yuvarāja Asphoṭachandra | Rājaputra Rājyapāla | Vijayachandra
Vijayachandra
|
Jayachandra
|
Hariśchandra

References

[1]*DHNI*, I, 505. [2]Ibid. [3]Ibid.
[4]Ibid., 506; *IA*, XVIII, l. 1.
[5]*DHNI*, I, 506; *EI*, I, 150, fn 1: "The Rahan grant of Govindachandra, seems to indicate that the Gāhaḍavālas flourished when the two great royal families, sprung from the Moon and the Sun, had perished"—*IA*, 1889, 15, l. 2: "The lunar family may be the Tripur Kalacurīs."
[6]*DHNI*, I, 506; *IA*, XVIII, 11-12, ll. 1-2.
[7]*DHNI*, I, 506; II, 361, l. 2; IV, 100, l. 2; *EI*, IX, 304, l. 2; *IA*, XVIII, ll. l. 2. He was also known as Mahiyala, Mahiala and Mahitala.
[8]*DHNI*, I, 506. [9]Ibid.
[10]Ibid., 507; *IA*, 1885, 102-3, ll. 2-5. According to some scholars, Bhoja was Paramāra Bhoja. The Rahan plate of Govindachandra says that the Gāhaḍavālas flourished after the destruction of the lunar and solar royal families. Thus we conclude from it that Bhoja was the great Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler of that time.
[11]*DHNI*, I, 507. [12]Ibid.
[13]Ibid.; *JASB*, 1892, pp. 58 ff. [14]*DHNI*, I, 507.
[15]Ibid.; *IHQ*, March, 1929, 91. [16]*DHNI*, I, 507.
[17]Ibid. [18]Ibid., 508; *HIH*, II, pp. 250 ff.
[19]*DHNI*, I, 508; *EI*, XIV, 193, ll. 11-12. [20]*DHNI*, I, 508.
[21]Ibid., 508-9. "Now pronounced Chandrauti. It is a village on the Ganges in the *pargana* of Katchir, some 14 miles from the district headquarters."—*EI*, XIV, 192.
[22]*DHNI*, I, 509: "Modern Baragaon, a village 14 miles north-west of Benares."—*EI*, IX, 304.
[23]*DHNI*, I, 509. [24]Ibid.; *EI*, IX, 302-5. [25]*DHNI*, I, 509.
[26]Ibid., "It was bounded by the rivers Gomatī, Bhagīrathī, and Varuṇā. The Pattala has been identified with modern Katchir, the largest *pargana* of Benares."—*EI*, XIV, 193.
[27]*DHNI*, I, 510; *EI*, XIV, 200-9. [28]*DHNI*, I, 510.
[29]Ibid. [30]Ibid.; *IA*, XVIII, 9-14.
[31]*DHNI*, I, 510; *IA*, XVIII, 9-14. [32]*DHNI*, I, 510.
[33]Ibid.
[34]Ibid., 510, fn 1: "A Śvetāmbara Jain temple in Chandrautī is still known to the local inhabitants as Candramādho."—*EI*, XIV, 197.
[35]*DHNI*, I, 511, fn 2: "Probably founded and named after himself by Chandradeva."
[36]*DHNI*, I, 511, fn 1; *EI*, XIV, 197.
[37]*DHNI*, I, 511, fn 5: Also known as Madanadeva and Madanachandra.
[38]*DHNI*, I, 511: Not yet identified. [39]Ibid.; *IA*, XIV, 102.
[40]*DHNI*, I, 511; *EI*, II, 358-61.
[41]*DHNI*, I, 512; *JRAS*, 1896, 787.
[42]*DHNI*, I, 513; *IA*, XVIII, 14-19.
[43]*DHNI*, I, 515: Also known as Govindapāla—*EI*, IX, 324, 327.
[44]*EHI*, 400. [45]*DHNI*, I, 521; *EI*, XI, 20-26.
[46]*DHNI*, I, 521, fn 5: "Modern village of Patna, about 3 miles south-west of Set."—*EI*, XI, 21-22.
[47]*DHNI*, I, 521, fn 6: "Identified with the modern village of Balaha near the village of Patna."—*EI*, XI, 22.
[48]*DHNI*, I, 521, fn 7: "Identified with the important village of this name near Subhagpur on the Goṇḍa-Intiathok road." *EI*, XI, 22.

[49] *DHNI*, I, 521, fn 8: "Identified with the village of Bayasi, which stood 2 miles to the north of Set Mahet."—*EI*, XI, 22.

[50] *DHNI*, I, 522. [51] Ibid. [52] *EI*, XI, 1911-12, 25-26.
[53] Ibid. [54] *DHNI*, I, 528. [55] *EI*, IX, 320.
[56] *DHNI*, I, 528. [57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid., fn 3: Another name of Magadha. [59] *EI*, IX, 321.
[60] Ibid., 319-18; *DHNI*, I, 528. [61] *DHNI*, IX, 327-28.
[62] *HKMC*, 315. [63] Ibid. [64] Ibid.
[65] *DHNI*, I, 531. [66] Ibid., 532. [67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid. [69] Ibid.; *HKMC*, 315; *EI*, XI, 321.
[70] *HKMC*, 315. [71] *HGD*, 199. [72] *DHNI*, I, 532.
[73] Ibid., 523; *EI*, VIII, 111-22.
[74] *DHNI*, I, 525; *IA*, XVIII, 20-21.
[75] *DHNI*, I, 532; *EI*, IV, 119, 7-8.
[76] *DHNI*, I, 533; *EI*, IV, 117-20. [77] *EHI*, 400.
[78] Ibid. [79] Ibid. [80] *IHQ*, V, 1929, 26.
[81] Ibid., 17-18. [82] Ibid., 18.
[83] Ibid., 26, V. 10; *DHNI*, I, 540.
[84] The eight *siddhis* are enumerated in the following verse: *Aṇimā laghimā prāptiḥ prākāmyaṃ mahimā tathā, iśtvam ca vaśitvam ca tathā kāmāvasāyitā*.—*DHNI*, V, 25, fn 3.
[85] A name of the Buddha—*DHNI*, V, 25 fn.
[86] "This is ferocious form of blue Tārā, identified with Ekajaṭā." According to some scholars, she was MahācīnaTārā. "Both the varieties are, however, believed to be of northern origin and belong to the same class of blue Tārā."—*IHQ*, V, 1929, 17, fn 1.
[87] "I could trace no mention of this variety of Tārā elsewhere."—*IHQ*, 17, fn 2.
[88] "This description is not, however, definite enough to identify this Tārā with any particular form."—Ibid., fn 3.
[89] *IHQ*, V, 21-27. [90] *EHI*, 400. [91] *IA*, XVII, 1888, 61.
[92] Ibid. [93] *HGD*, 209-10. [94] *IA*, XVII, 1888, 61.
[95] Ibid., 63-64. [96] *DHNI*, I, 544. [97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid., I, 537; *EI*, IV, 126-28.
[99] *IHQ*, I, 537-38; *IA*, XVIII, 129-34. [100] *IHQ*, I, 545.
[101] Ibid. [102] Ibid. [103] *HKMC*, 351-52.
[104] *IHQ*, 1949, 37; *HGD*, 195.
[105] *EI*, XIV, 197 ff; *HGD*, 195.
[106] *EI*, IX, 302 ff; *HGD*, 195.
[107] *EI*, IV, 117-20; *HGD*, 195. [108] *HGD*, 195.
[109] Ibid., 196. "Svayam-api kim-ap-iccham-acchadhiyasya śiṣyaḥ—Śrī Jayachandradevaḥ."—*IHQ*, 1929, 14-20.
[110] *EI*, 196. [111] Ibid. [112] Ibid., 198; *HIH*, II, 251.
[113] *EI*, 199. [114] Ibid., 199-200.
[115] *DHNI*, I, 548; *HKMC*, 386-88.

5. THE CHANDRĀTREYAS OR THE CHANDELLAS OF JEJĀKABHUKTI OR BUNDELKHAND

It is generally believed that the rise of the Chandellas in the south of the Jumnā was one of the causes that brought the downfall of the Gurjara-Pratihāra kingdom in northern India.[1] V.A. Smith says: "The

ancient name of the province between the Jumnā and Narmadā, now known as Bundelkhand, and partly included in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, was Jajākabhukti."[2] From the traditions preserved by the family of the Qānungo of Mahobā we learn that the Pratihāras in Bundelkhand were overthrown by Chandravarman.[3] But the genealogical table does not give the name of Chandravarman.[4] The Khajraho stone inscription of Dhaṅga refers to the origin of the Chandella dynasty:[5]

Viśvasṛk Purāṇapuruṣa (the creator of the universe, that ancient being)
|
Sages Mārīci, Atri etc.
|
Muni Candrātreya (acquired fierce might by ceaseless austerities)
|
From him princes (bhūbhujām) who had the power to destroy or protect the whole earth
|
In this family Nṛpa Nannuka
|
Vākpati
├── Jayaśakti
└── Vijayaśakti
|
Rāhila
|
Harṣa-Kañcukā
|
Yaśovarman-Puppā
|
Dhaṅga (VS 1011-AD 954)

In the ninth century AD the Chandellas became prominent. It is known from historical records that a Parihar chieftain was overthrown by Nannuka Chandella who became lord of the southern parts of Jejākabhukti or Bundelkhand.[6] He founded the Chandella dynasty. It is very probable that at first he was a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler, Nāgabhaṭa II (*c.* AD 815-33)[7] and ruled over a small territory known as Khajraho (Khajuraho), the Kharjjuravāhaka of the inscriptions.[8] In the Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga, Nannuka is referred to as *nṛpa* and is mentioned as 'a touchstone to test the worth of the gold of the regal order, who playfully decorated the faces of the women of the quarters with the sandal of his fame', and whose enemies carried 'his commands on their heads, like a

garland'.[9] Another Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga refers to Nannuka as Mahipati 'Whose prowess reminded the gods of Arjuna.'[10] These two inscriptions indicate that Nannuka was a powerful ruler. Vākpati, who was the son of Nannuka, came to the throne after the latter.[11] From the two inscriptions we get information about him. The first inscription says that when Vākpati defeated his enemies in battle, the Vindhyas became his pleasure-mount (*Krīḍā-giri*).[12] This indicates that Vākpati somehow extended his ancestral territory. Another inscription states: "Vākpati is said to have excelled by his wisdom and valour (even) the mythical kings Pṛthu and Kakustha."[13] Vākpati's two sons were Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti, who, according to, H.C. Ray, "really succeeded in establishing the foundation of the prosperity, though not the sovereignty of the family."[14] A Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga says that "by the unmeasured prowess of him and his younger brother adversaries were destroyed as woods are burnt by a blazing fire."[15] Another Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga describes that the younger brother Vijaya "like Rāma on his warlike expeditions reached even the southernmost point of India."[16] Jayaśakti and his brother Vijayaśakti were probably feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers, Bhoja and his son Mahendrapāla I.[17] Vijayaśakti's son was Rahila. The Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga says, "Thinking of whom (Rahila) the enemies enjoy little sleep at night. Who never tired, at the sacrifice of battle, where the terribly wielded sword was the ladle, where the oblation of clarified butter was made with steaming blood, where the twanging of the bow-string was the exclamation of *vaṣaṭ,* (and) at which exasperated warriors marching in order were the priests, successful with his counsels (as with sacred hymns) sacrificed like beasts, the adversaries in the fire of enmity, made to blaze up high by the wind of his unappeased anger."[18]

The next ruler was Harṣa. From a fragmentary stone inscription found at Khajraho we learn that he defeated his many proud enemies.[19] The Khajraho stone inscription of Dhaṅga describes: "that most excellent of rulers was afraid to offend against the law (*dharma*) and anxious to worship the feet of (Viṣṇu) ...."[20] It is said that Harṣa helped Mahīpāla I, the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler, to recover the throne of Kanauj which had been occupied by Indra III, the Rāṣtrakūṭa ruler.[21] Harṣa's son and successor was Yaśovarman. V.A. Smith says that "his power has been greatly enhanced by the ocupation of the fortress of Kālanjar."[22] The Khajraho inscription refers to the victories and campaigns of Yaśovarman. It describes, "who was a sword to (cut down) the Gauḍas as if they were pleasure-creepers, equalled the forces of the Khaśas (and) carried off the treasure of Kośalas, before whom perished the Kashmiri warriors; who weak-

ened the Mithilas, (and) was as it were a god of death to the Mālwās, who brought distress on the shameful Cedis, who was to the Kurus what a storm is to the trees, and a scorching fire to the Gurjaras." "Free from fear, he impetuously defeated in battle the Cedi king whose forces were countless..., he easily conquered Kālanjara mountain...."[23]

Thus from the inscription we learn that Yaśovarman played a prominent role in the political history of ancient India which extended from the Himalayas to Mālavā and from Kashmir to Bengal. Yaśovarman built a charming splendid home of (Viṣṇu), the enemy of the Daityas, which rivals the peaks of the mountain of snow.[24] It is said that the Lord of Bhoṭa first obtained the image of Vaikuṇṭha from the Kailāsa and Sāhi, the king of Kira, got it from him as a token of friendship. Afterwards Herambapāla of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty obtained it from him for a force of elephants and horses, and Yaśovarman himself received it from the Hayapati Devapāla, the son of (Herambapāla). Yaśovarman established this image in the temple which was built by him.[25] Alexander Cunningham identifes this temple with the Vaiṣṇava temple at Khajraho or Khajuraho which was also known as Rāmachandra, Lakṣmaṇa or Caturbhuja.[26] The Khajraho stone inscription[27] was found in the ruins at the base of the Lakṣmaṇa-temple at Khajraho. It begins with adoration to the holy Vāsudeva and then with invocation to the god Vaikuṇṭha. It refers to Yaśovarman, who built a home of Viṣṇu and established in it an image of Vaikuṇṭha which he got from the Hayapati Devapāla. It ends with adoration to Vāsudeva and the sun. This shows the popularity of Vaiṣṇavism and the sun-worship in the principality of Yaśovarman.

Dhaṅga succeeded his father Yaśovarman in AD 854.[28] The former was regarded as the most notable of his family. It is to be noted here that the Chandellas certainly in the first half of the tenth century AD became independent. A fragmentary Chandella inscription found at Mahobā mentions Dhaṅga's achievements. "Dhaṅga who caused the destruction of his enemies, and who by the strength of his arms equalled even the powerful Haṃvīra, who had proved a heavy burden for the earth...."[29] According to H.C. Ray, "the word Haṃvīra is a corruption of the Arabic word Amīr (commander, leader), which took its origin from the root Amr (command)".[30] Probably, Haṃvīra referred to above was Sabuktigīn Ghorī. Towards the end of the tenth century AD a league was formed under the leadership of Jayapāla, the Sāhi ruler of the Punjab, with an idea to resist Sabuktigīn from Ghazni and Dhaṅga joined it. Dhaṅga reigned for a very long time and his reign was probably unmarred by defeats at the hands of the Turuṣkas. He occupied an important place in the religious and

cultural history of ancient India. Some of the grandest temples at Khajraho was built during his reign. The temples of Khajraho, which are regarded as the finest group of Hindu temples in northern India, and are usually referred to the 10th and 11th centuries, bear evidence to the splendour of the victories of the Chandellas in the domain of peace.[31] The temple of Jinanātha was probably constructed during Dhanga's reign. It contains an inscription of Dhanga's reign and gives an account of gifts offered by a devout follower of Jainism.[32] The Khajraho Jaina temple inscription was found on the left-door-jamb of the temple of Jinanātha at Khajraho.[33] It refers to a number of gifts offered to the temple by one Pahilla who was a devout Jain. His gifts were gardens. The temple of Vaidyanātha at Khajraho was also built during his reign. It contains an inscription which mentions that one Kokkala of the Gahapati family erected a temple in honour of Vaidyanātha.[34] Another Khajraho inscription refers to the construction of a magnificent temple by Dhanga for the god Śambhu, Marakateśvara, with two *lingas*, one of emerald and the other of stone.[35] A temple of Viśvanātha was also constructed there.[36] From the inscriptions mentioned above we learn that Jainism and Śaivism flourished side by side in Dhanga's kingdom.

Gaṇḍa ascended the throne of the Chandella dynasty in AD 1001-1002 after his father Dhanga.[37] A fragmentary Chandella inscription[38] mentions Gaṇḍa as "an unrivalled hero who bore all the parts of the earth on his arms." The Mau inscription of Madanavarman says that Gaṇḍadeva was "a ruler of the earth in the four quarters, expert in annihilating enemies whose massive arms were terrible through the itching of pride."[39] It is said that Ānandapāla, son of Jayapāla, King of the Punjab, organised a new confederacy of Hindu kings and Gaṇḍa joined it.[40]

Vidyādhara, the son of Gaṇḍa, came to the throne in AD 1019. Ibn-ul-Athīr describes that Mahmud of Ghazni advanced towards India with an idea to protect his territories from the hands of Bīḍā who was the greatest of the rulers of India in territory; he had the largest armies; and his country was named Khajuraho.[41] This Bīḍā was certainly Vidyādhara and people thought of him as the most powerful ruler of India. Ibn-ul-Athīr says that Vidyādhara attacked Kanauj which was ruled by Rājyapāla, the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler.[42] The latter was killed by the former because he had made terms with the Muhammedans.[43] From the Dubkund inscription[44] we learn that Kacchapaghāta rulers, of that place, were his vassals and it is very probable that he extended the territory of his kingdom. It is said that the ruler of Gwalior was also a vassal of the Chandellas.[45] A Chandella inscription mentions that "Bhojadeva, together with Kālachuri-Chandra worshipped (Vidyādhara) this master of warfare full of fear, like a pupil."[46] This Bhojadeva was definitely the Paramāra ruler of Dhārā and Kālachuri-Chandra was Kokalla, the Chedi ruler.[47] Vidyādhara was succeeded by his son Vijayapāla. Then his son Devavarmā ascended the throne. They were weak rulers and the Chandellas suffered at the hands of the Kālachuri king of Dāhala, Lakṣmī-Karṇa. It is generally agreed that Lakṣmī-Karṇa, by his victories completely destroyed the progress and the prosperity of the Chandella power for some time.

When Kīrtivarman occupied the throne of the Chandella dynasty in AD 1098, he recovered the lost glory of his kingdom. His chief Samanta Gopāla defeated Lakṣmī-Karṇa in battle.[48] A Chandella inscription found at Mahobā mentions that Kīrtivarman defeated Lakṣmī-Karṇa.[49] Sallakṣaṇavarman or Hallakṣaṇavarman, who was the son of Kīrtivarman, succeeded the latter. The Ajaigarh rock inscription of Bhojavarman says that Sallakṣaṇavarman's "sword took away the fortune of the Mālwās and the Chedis."[50] Jayavarman succeeded his father Sallakṣaṇavarman. The next ruler was Pṛthvīvarman.[51] It is very possible that Jayavarman had no issue and then Pṛthvīvarman, his uncle, succeeded his nephew. Then Madanavarman, the son of Pṛthvīvarman, ascended the throne in AD 1129.

Several inscriptions and coins of the reign of Madanavarman were found. The Kalinjar pillar inscription[52] which was incised on a pillar in the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha, inside the fort of Kalinjar, begins with adoration to Śrī Nīlakaṇṭha and is dated AD 1129. The Kalinjar rock inscription[53] which was incised on the rock to the left or north side of temple of Nīlakaṇṭha in the fort of Kalinjar begins with Oṃsvasti and refers to the establishment of an image of Nīlakaṇṭha. It is dated AD 1131. These inscriptions indicate that Śaivism flourished in the kingdom of the Chandellas. Nīlakaṇṭha is another name of Śiva. The Augasi grant[54] was found in the Augasi *pargana* of the Banda district in the U.P. and is dated AD 1134. The figure of the goddess Lakṣmī sitting on the Padmāsana with an alphabet at each side standing on what looks like an expanded water lily, pouring water over her head was found on the upper-middle part of the plate. The Mahobā Jaina image inscription[55] refers to the dedication of an image of Neminātha which was made by Lakhaṇa. It mentions the dedication of an image in the reign of Madanavarmadeva.[56] The Mau stone inscription[57] was found at the foot of a rocky hill in the vicinity of the town of Mau in the Jhānsi district. It refers to the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu. The Ajaigarh stone inscription[58] mentions that a certain Rāuta Veda of the village of Kartia erected something in the

Jayapura-durgā for the use of all. The Khajraho Jaina image inscription[59] dated 1157-58 of the reign of Madanavarman says that sons of Sālha Mahāgana and others "always bow down to Sambhavanātha." All these inscriptions mentioned above are important from the point of view of the political and religious history of the country. We learn from inscriptions that Madanavarman widely extended his dominions. He ruled over Kalinjar, Khajuraho, Ajaigarh and Mahobā. The Augasi and Mau inscriptions suggest that his power extended in the Bānda and Jhānsi districts and the neighbouring regions. H.C. Ray says, "... the territories of Madanavarman were probably included more or less in the triangle of which the base was formed by the Vindhya, Bhanrer and Kaimur ranges and the two sides by the rivers Betwā and Jumnā and the northern boundary line of Baghelkhand."[60] We are told that Madanavarman defeated the Paramāra ruler of Mālavā,[61] the Kālachuri king of Chedi[62] and the Gujarat King Siddharāja in fierce fight. The Mau inscription says that the Gāhaḍavāla king of Kāśī always spent his time in friendly behaviour with Madanavarman.[63] From the above inscriptions we also get an idea about the religious conditions of the country during the reign of Madanavarman. They throw a flood of light on the development of Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Jainism and other Brahmanical religions. The worship of the Brahmanical goddesses like Durgā, Lakṣmī etc. became very popular in the kingdom of the Chandellas. But no record refers to the prevalence of Buddhism during the rule of Madanavarman. His records inform us that he reigned for about 34 years.[64]

The Chandella grants mention the name of Paramardi after that of Madanavarman, with the epithet *'tatpādānudhyāta'*.[65] But in the introductory portion of the Baghari stone-inscription of the reign of Paramardi, there is a reference to the name of Yaśovarman between Madanavarman and Paramardi.[66] But this gives us an idea that Yaśovarman was the son of Madanavarman and was the father of Paramardi. The Baghari stone-inscription says, "As the moon, the crest-jewel of Maheśvara (arose) from the ocean, so was born from him, Yaśovarman, who was an ornament of great rulers, causing joy to the people...."[67] This inscription indicates that Yaśovarman reigned. It seems that he ruled for a very short period and after him Paramardi, his son, ascended the throne. The *Pṛthvīrāj Raso* of Chand Bardāī says that Paramardi maintained a very hostile attitude towards the famous Chāhamāna ruler Pṛthvīrāja III.[68] The latter defeated him and Kutub-ud-din Ibak in AD 1202 captured Kalinjar and defeated Paramardi in fierce fight.[69]

The Semra grant of the reign of Paramardi[70] mentions that king Paramardi refers to a grant made by his grandfather to 309 Brahmans. There was an image of Lakṣmī with four arms seated on a lotus was found on the top of the first copperplate of this grant. The Mahobā image inscription[71] was incised on the pedestal of a broken Jaina statue at Mahoba. It belonged to the reign of Paramardi. It mentions the grant of some land to the Brahman Ratna Śarman.[72] There was an image of Gaja-Lakṣmī on the top of the first plate. The Baghari stone inscription[73] was found near Mahobā. It belonged to the reign Paramardi. It opens with 'Oṃ namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya' and invokes 'Śauri' (Viṣṇu). The Kalinjar stone inscription of the time of Paramardi was found inside the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha at Kalinjar. It begins with 'namaḥ Śivāya'.[74] Its first 24 lines contain only an eulogistic and glowing address to Śiva and Pārvatī. Several inscriptions of the reign of Paramardi give us ample evidence to show that Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Jainism flourished side by side in the kingdom of the Chandella dynasty during the rule of Paramardi. Neither records nor inscriptions mention anything about Buddhism.

Paramardi was succeeded by his son Trailokyavarman in AD 1205. It is very possible that after the battle of Kakaḍādaha which took place before AD 1205 the latter recovered Kalinjar.[75] The Ajaigarh stone inscription of Vīravarman (AD 1261) compares Trailokyavarman with Viṣṇu, "in lifting up the earth immersed in the ocean formed by the streams of Turuṣkas."[76] From the Rewa grants and from the discovery of the Panwar hoard of coins of Madanavarman, we learn the extension of the Chandella power into that region of Baghelkhand which was situated to the north of the Kaimur range.[77] Probably, Trailokyavarman recovered this region from the Kalachuris before AD 1239.[78] This shows that he was not a petty local chief of Ajaigarh. H.C. Ray says, "His rule appears to have extended from the river Betwa, on the west of Lalitpur, to the upper courses of the Son in the east."[79] He ruled for about 36 years.

Vīravarman, the son of Trailokyavarman, succeeded his father in AD 1241. The Ajaigarh rock inscription of AD 1261[80] begins with 'Oṃ Oṃ siddhi' and invokes Gaṅgā. It records that Kalyāṇadevī, the chief queen of Vīravarman, "built a well with perennial water at 'this spot' which is guarded by the arms of strong men, a hell for the supply of its water and a tank at Nandipura." The Ajaigarh rock inscription of AD 1281 of the reign of Vīravarman[81] records the establishment of a statue of Vināyaka (Gaṇeśa) by Vīravarman's minister whose name was Gaṇapati. Apart from these inscriptions, there are also other epigraphical records which belonged to the reign of Vīravarman.

They inform us that the latter ruled over an extensive portion of his ancestral kingdom. He was a follower of Brahmanism and all his inscriptions show that Brahmanism flourished in his kingdom.

The next ruler was Bhojavarman, who came to the throne in AD 1288. His Ajaigarh rock inscription opens with 'Oṃ namaḥ Kedārāya' and then invokes Śiva. It refers to the construction of a temple (*devālaya*) by Subhata.[82] His Ajaigarh stone inscription opens with an invocation to Viṣṇu under various names such as Murārī, Hari, Mādhava, Rāma etc. It records that Nāna established an image of Hari at the fort of Ajaigarh.[83] The construction of a *devālaya* (temple) and the erection of the image of gods and goddesses show us that the Brahmanical gods and goddesses were worshipped regularly at the temples by the Chandellas during the reign of Bhojavarman. From the latter's inscriptions we also learn that he ruled over a territory around the fort of Ajaigarh.[84] A *Satī* record found in village of Bamhai of the Damoh district in Madhya Pradesh informs us that in AD 1308 a Mahrājaputra named Vāghadeva under the sovereignty of Hammīradeva governed the portions of the Damoh and the Jubbulpore districts.[85] This Hammīradeva was a successor of Bhojavarman. It indicates that in the beginning of the 14th century AD the Chandellas still held an important portion of their ancestral dominions. It is known that Kirat Singh (Rai), the king of Kalinjar, was Chandella.[86] He opposed Sher Shah in AD 1544. This shows that the Chandellas still occupied the fort of Kalinjar. Durgāvatī[87] was a Chandella princess and was probably a daughter of this Kirat Rai of Kalinjar. She married Rājā Dalpat Sā of Garha-Mandla in AD 1545 and she was killed in AD 1564 while she was fighting against Akbar.

S.K. Mitra says,[88] "Traditions current in Mahobā regard Manīyā Deo (Devī), a tribal deity of the aboriginal people of the area, as the tutelary deity of the Chandellas throughout their history. A shrine dedicated to the goddess exists at Mahobā, where a rude figure is carved on a projecting boulder. There is another small temple of Manīyā Devī on the hill of Maniyāgarh (Rājgarh), the site of a large ruined fort on the left bank of the Ken river, from the remains of which has been found an image of a female with sword in hand. This has been identified as the figure of Maniyā Devī, from whom the 'garh' derives its name." According to Beglar, it does not appear improbable that she was a sort of compromise between the Brahmanical Pārvatī and the naked female worshipped to this day by some tribes of Goṇḍa. In the bardic account of Chand also reference is made to Maniyā Devī as the goddess of the Chandellas to whom they appealed in times of danger.

The extant epigraphic records as well as the numerous temples of

the Chandella rulers testify to the wide prevalence of the Brahmanical religion amongst them. The Chandella kings were generally worshippers of Śiva, but the records reveal that they were tolerant to the worshippers of other faiths. Some of the Chandella kings appear to have been staunch Vaiṣṇavites. The non-Brahmanical religions, Jainism and Buddhism, also received occasional patronage from the Chandellas.

A study of the Chandella inscriptions reveal that Brahmanical theism in its different aspects beginning the *trayidharma* (the three Vedas) to the Purāṇic conception of cult divinities was prevalent among the rulers and their subjects. The records are mostly concerned with Brahmanical sects.

That the Chandella rulers conceded an important place to the Brahmanical religion and philosophy will also be evident from a number of inscriptions recording grant of lands and other gifts to immigrant scholarly Brahmins who were encouraged to settle in the Chandella dominion. Mention of the distinguishing *gotras, pravaras,* as also of the particular Śākhā or *caraṇa* of the Vedic study, to which they belonged, in the land-grants of the Chandellas, indicate that popularisation of the different aspects of Vedic studies was one of the objects of the Chandella rulers.

Some of the early rulers of the Chandella family including Yaśovarman, were devout worshippers of Viṣṇu. The earliest definite reference to the worship of Viṣṇu occurs in the Khajraho inscription dated VS 1011 (AD 953-54). It begins and ends with invocation to God Vāsudeva,—"Oṃ namo Bhagavate Vāsudevāya". The king Yaśovarman is described here as one anxious to worship the feet of Viṣṇu, the enemy of Madhu.

There are other inscriptional evidence also which speak of the Chandella rulers' leanings to the Vaiṣṇavite faith. In the Deogadh Rock inscription we find that Kīrtivarman (AD 1098) is likened to Viṣṇu. Kīrtivarman is again compared to Puruṣottama (Viṣṇu) in the Mahobā inscription. Jayavarman (AD 1117), the grandson of Kīrtivarman, according to a Kalinjar fragmentary inscription, was also devoted to Viṣṇu. Again the Rock inscription of Vīravarman compares the Chandella ruler Trailokyavarman to Viṣṇu.

Besides at Khajraho, we come to notice two temples dedicated to Varāha and Vāmana incarnation of Viṣṇu.

In inscriptions the deity is generally invoked under the names, Viṣṇu, Hari and Bhagavāna Vāsudeva; in some records other names also occur, such as Murārī, Mādhava, Puruṣottama, Nārāyana, Upendra, Sauri, Śakra, Daityārāti etc., as well as the names of the different forms of his incarnations such as Varāha, Vāmana, Nṛsiṃha and Rāma.

His consort is mentioned as Lakṣmī, Śrī, Kamalā etc. Sarasvatī or Puṣṭi, a consort of Viṣṇu is found depicted on the body of the great Varāha image of Khajraho.

Śaivism was already a popular religion in the north and central India long before the advent of the Chandellas. Kalinjar, which became one of the major strongholds of the Chandellas, was popularly known for many centuries as an abode of Nīlakaṇṭha Śiva. It is of interest to note that Yaśovarman who, by occupying the fortress of Kalinjar, initiated an era of greatness in the history of the Chandellas, was himself a Vaiṣṇavite. But from the time of his son and successor, Dhaṅga, the Chandella rulers became devout worshippers of Śiva and Śaivism since then became practically the royal religion in the Chandella dominion.

For Dhaṅga we have the evidence of the Khajraho inscription of VS 1059 (AD 1002-3). It opens with the usual invocation to Śiva (Oṃ Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya), and also some verses in praise of the different forms and aspects of that god, viz., Rudra, Digambara, Śūladhara, Maheśvara and Paśupati. This inscription records that Dhaṅga erected a magnificent temple of Śambhu, where he installed two *liṅgas*, one of which was made of emerald, and the other of stone. It is stated that the glories achieved by Dhaṅga were due to the grace of the god Śiva, whom he worshipped ardently. Besides we find direct evidences of Śiva worship by Vidyādhara, Madanavarman and Paramardi. Vidyādhara is described as a votary of Śiva in the Madanpur stone inscription. Madanavarman and his grandson, Paramardi, both are stated to have worshipped the divine husband of Bhavānī before making grants of lands to Brāhmaṇas, as recorded in the Semrā, the Icchāwār and the Mahobā plates. Pratāpa, Madana's younger brother, who was a very influential person in the court, undertook diverse works of public interest including erection of temples and installation of images of Śiva, Kamalā and Kālī....

The devotion of the Chandella rulers to Śaivism is definitely indicated by the assumption of the title of 'Paramamaheśvara' in their official documents, viz., the Nanyaura Plate 'B' (Devavarman), Nanyaura Plate 'C' and Kalinjar inscription no. 4 (Madanavarman), Semrā Plates, Icchawar Plate, Mahobā Plate, Pachar Plate and Cārkhāri Plate 'B' (Paramardi), Garra Grant (Trailokyavarman), Cārkhāri Plate 'C' (Vīravarman) and Cārkhāri Plate 'D' (Hammīravarman).

Śiva has been worshipped in the *liṅga* form all over India from a very early period. The Chandellas also were adherents to the worship of Śiva in the *liṅga* form.

The worship of Sūrya or the Sun-god also appears to be quite popular among the Chandellas.

The account given above shows that the Chandella rulers were ardent worshippers of the Brahmanical gods and goddesses, and that their reigns were characterised by noteworthy efforts to propagate their religion, with a liberal and tolerant outlook. The Dhureti plates of Trailokyamalla begin with invocatory verses to the three gods of the Trinity, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā, as well as to Gaṇapati.

Of the non-Brahmanical cults, there is little trace of Buddhism during the Chandella period. The only archaeological evidence of Buddhism earlier than the rise of the Chandellas is furnished by a large image of Buddha, seated in Bhūsparśa *mudrā* (touching the earth) on a double petalled lotus (Viśva-padma) seat, found in the Ghantai temple site at Khajraho. On the lotus-petals of its pedestal was inscribed the oft-quoted couplet, "*Ye dhammā hetu pabhava teṣām hetuṃ Tathāgata*", in characters assignable to 9th century AD. Cunningham took the Ghantai temple as a Buddhist shrine because of this find, but later the discovery of a large number of naked Jaina statues from the ruins of the temple led to its identification as a Jaina temple.

Some Buddhist images have been unearthed near the Kirātsāgar lake at Mahobā, which definitely indicate the tolerance of the Chandella rulers to the Buddhists. They find included some very fine sculptures of Bodhisattvas, Buddha and Tārā. They are not dated, but on a study of the characters of the short epigraphs on the pedestal of two of the images, K.N. Dixit assigns them to the 11th-12th century AD.

Both the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara images are excellently carved and are regarded as the finest specimens of Indian sculpture. Iconographically, one of them appears to be Siṃhanāda Bodhisattva (2' 8" high), and the other Padmapāṇi (2' 2"). The former is seated in *Rājalīlā* pose on a conventionally carved lion, whose face is turned towards the Master. The Boddhisattva holds an *akṣamālā* in his left hand and a trident entwined by a serpent is placed beside his right hand. The halo behind his head is carved in a lotus design.... The Padmapāṇi is also seated in *Rājalīlā* pose, but on a lotus throne and the lotus stalks rise on either side of the image. Profuse ornaments decorate the different limbs of the deity unlike, the Siṃhanāda image, which has only a simple garland in the form of *yajñopavīta*. The third image in the group is the Buddhist goddess Tārā (1' 9" high), with beautiful ornaments all over her body. The goddess is seated in Vajrāsana posture with legs crossed. The left hand, holding a Nīlotpala, is in *vitarkamudrā* and the right one in Varada with a miniature *vajra* placed on the plain. The rim of the black slab has five small images of Dhyānī Buddhas.... An image of Buddha has also

been found there. He is seated in Padmāsana (legs crossed) in Bhūmisparśa *mudrā*.... The find of these images at Mahobā point to the prevalence of the Mahāyāna Buddhism among some sections of the people of the Chandella kingdom.

Another indirect reference to the existence of Buddhist worship in the region is noticed in the Cārkhāri plates of Paramardideva. While granting an entire village to certain Brāhmaṇas, particular care was taken to exclude 5 *halas* of land belonging to a Buddhist shrine.

Cārkhāri, the plates of Paramardideva, vs 1236, provenance unknown, are preserved in the Cārkhāri durbar, (Bundelkhand). Incised on two copperplates, with the figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī on the first plate. After usual eulogies to the early heroes, Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti, it records the grant of the village Sagaudo in the Kīrayida *viṣaya* to a number of Brahmins of the Vatsa *gotra*, on Monday, the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Caitra in vs 1236 by king Paramardideva, whose ancestors were Madanavarman and Pṛthvīvarman, from the royal camp of Vilāsapura. Five *halas* of land of the same village previously endowed to a Buddhist monastery was however, excluded from the present grant written by Kāyastha Subhānanda of the Vastavya family and engraved by Śilpi Palhana, a 'Vaidagdhi-viśvakarmana'.

The *Prabodhacandrodaya* (of the time of king Kīrtivarman) refers to the existence of the Saugata sect of Buddhists evidently in the Chandella country. It is claimed in the drama that the Buddhist sect lost its hold on the people at the rise of *viveka* (conscience).

Jainism had some hold on the people, particularly the trading community. The Khajraho inscription no. 3 of vs 1011, carved on the left door-jamb of the temple of Pārśvanātha, records a number of gifts and endowments of gardens, named Pāhilavāṭikā, Candravāṭikā, Laghucandravāṭikā etc. by one Pāhila, a devotee of Jinanātha, who claims to have been held in esteem by King Dhaṅga. The devotion of the 'Grahpati' family, to which Pāhila belonged, is also evidenced by the Darbāt-Śāntinātha image inscription of vs 1132, in which it is found that during the reign of the illustrious Kīrtivarman, son of Vijayapāla, the image of Śāntinātha was installed by a group of his hereditary ministers (*kulāmātya vṛnda*), viz., Pāhila and Jīju. They were disciples of the Jaina teacher Vāsavendu or Vāsavachandra. Another Grahapati family, devoted to Jainism, is also mentioned in inscriptions engraved on pedestal of some Jaina images, at Khajraho. One of them refers of Śreṣṭhi Śrī Pāṇidhara, "Oṃ Grahapatyānvaye Śreṣṭhi Śrī Pāṇidhara" and another dated in Saṃvat 1205 refers to Śreṣṭhi Śrī Pāṇidhara and his sons, Śreṣṭhi Ti (Tri) Vikrama Ālhana and Lakṣmīdhara. This was a family of Śreṣṭhis or bankers and merchants.

GENEALOGY

The Chandellas[89]

- Nannuka
  - Vākpati
    - Jayaśakti alias Jejjaka and Jeja
    - Vijayaśakti alias Vijaya, Vijja and Vija
      - Rahila
        - Harṣa—Kañchaka
          - Yaśovarman alias Lakṣavarman
            - Dhaṅga
              - Gaṇḍa
                - Vidyādhara
                  - Vijayapāla-Bhubanadevī
                    - Devavarman
                    - Kīrtivarman
                      - Sellakṣaṇavarman
                        - Jayavarman
                      - Pṛthvīvarman
                        - Madanavarman
                          - Yaśovarman II
                            - Paramardi
                              - Trailokyavarman
                        - Pratapa
            - Kṛṣṇapa—Asarvā
              - Devalabdhi

Viravarman

|

Bhojavarman

|

Hammīravarman

|

Kirat Rai (? Kīrtivarman II)

|

Durgāvatī—Dalpat of Garha Maṇḍala

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[1]*DHNI*, II, 665. [2]*EHI*, 405. [3]*DHNI*, II, 666.
[4]Ibid., 736. [5]Ibid., 666; *EI*, I, 122 ff.
[6]*DHNI*, II, 667; *EHI*, 405. [7]*DHNI*, II, 668.
[8]Ibid. [9]Ibid.; *EI*, I, 125, v. 10.
[10]*DHNI*, II, 668; *EI*, I, 140, vv. 14-15. [11]*DHNI*, II, 669.
[12]Ibid.; *EI*, I, 125, vv. 11-12.
[13]*DHNI*, II, 669; *EI*, I, 141, vv. 16-17. [14]*DHNI*, II, 669.
[15]Ibid., 670; *EI*, I, 126, v. 15.
[16]*DHNI*, II, 670; *EI*, I, 14-42, v. 20. [17]*DHNI*, II, 671.
[18]Ibid.; *EI*, I, 13, v. 17.
[19]*DHNI*, II, 672; *EI*, I, 12, v. l. 7.
[20]*DHNI*, II, 672; *EI*, I, 126, vv. 20-21. [21]*DHNI*, II, 672; *EHI*, 406.
[22]*EHI*, 406. [23]*DHNI*, II, 674-75; *EI*, I, 126-28, 132-34.
[24]*DHNI*, II, 676. [25]Ibid., 676-77. [26]Ibid., 677.
[27]*EI*, I, 123-35; *ASRC*, II, 426; XXI, 65. [28]*DHNI*, II, 678; *EHI*, 406.
[29]*DHNI*, II, 680-82. [30]Ibid., 681. [31]Ibid., 683.
[32]Ibid.
[33]*JASB*, XXXII, 270; *EI*, I, 135-36; *ASRC*, II, 483; XXI, 67.
[34]*DHNI*, II, 683; *EI*, I, 147-52; *ASRC*, XXI, 66, pl. XIX.
[35]*DHNI*, II, 683-84; *EI*, I, 137-47; *JASB*, III, 159-84; *NKGW*, 441-62.
[36]*DHNI*, II, 684. [37]Ibid., 687. [38]Ibid.; *EI*, I, 219-22, v. 99.
[39]*DHNI*, II, 687; *EI*, I, 197, 203, v. 4. [40]*EHI*, 407.
[41]*DHNI*, II, 688; *ATK*, IX, 115-16.
[42]Ibid.
[43]*EHI*, 407; *EI*, I, 219-22, v. 22. [44]*DHNI*, II, 689.
[45]Ibid., 689, fn 3. [46]Ibid., 689; *EI*, I, 219-22, v. 22.
[47]Ibid., 689-90. [48]Ibid., 697; *EI*, I, 219-22.
[49]*DHNI*, 697; *EI*, I, 219-22.
[50]*DHNI*, 702; *EI*, I, 198-201, vv. 9-10, 38-39. [51]*DHNI*, II, 705.
[52]Ibid.; *ASRC*, XXI, 34, pl. X, A.
[53]*DHNI*, II, 707; *ASRC*, XXI, 34-35; *JASB*, XVII, I, 321-22.
[54]*DHNI*, II, 706-7; *JASB*, VLVII, I, 73; *IA*, XVI 1887, 202 ff., 207-10.
[55]*DHNI*, II, 708-9; *ASRC*, XXI, 73.

[56]*DHNI*, II, 709; *ASRC*, II, 448.
[57]*DHNI*, II, 709; *EI*, I, 195-207; *AR*, XII, 357-74; *IGI*, XVII, 222.
[58]*DHNI*, II, 707; *ASRC*, XXI, 49, pl. XII, A.
[59]*DHNI*, II, 708; *ASRC*, XXI, 61; *EI*, I, 151. [60]*DHNI*, II, 711.
[61]Ibid., II, 710—"He must have been one of the three Paramāra kings, Yaśovarman (AD 134), Jayavarman and Lakṣmīvarman (AD 1143)."
[62]Ibid., 711. The defeated Kalacuri king of Chedi was Gayākarṇa.
[63]Ibid.; *EI*, I, 198, v. 15. [64]*DHNI*, II, 711.
[65]Ibid., 712. [66]Ibid. [67]Ibid., 713.
[68]Ibid., 719; *EHI*, 408. [69]*EHI*, 408.
[70]*DHNI*, II, 713; *EI*, IV, 153-70.
[71]*DHNI*, II, 714; *ASRC*, XXI, 74.
[72]*DHNI*, II, 715; *EI*, XVI, 9-15.
[73]*DHNI*, II, 717; *ASRC*, XXI, 82; *ZDMG*, XL, 51-54; *EI*, I, 207-14.
[74]*DHNI*, II, 718-19; *JASB*, XVII, 813-17; *ASRC*, XXI, 37-38.
[75]*DHNI*, II, 727. [76]Ibid.; *EI*, I, 329, v. 7. [77]*DHNI*, II, 727-28.
[78]Ibid., 728; *CCIM*, I, 253. [79]*DHNI*, II, 729.
[80]Ibid., II, 730-31; *ASRC*, XXI, 51; *EI*, I, 325-30.
[81]*DHNI*, II, 731-32; *ASRC*, XXI, 52. [82]*DHNI*, II, 733.
[83]Ibid., II, 733-34. [84]Ibid., II, 734. [85]Ibid.
[86]Ibid. [87]Ibid., 735. [88]*ERK*, 184-208.
[89]*DHNI*, II, 736.

6. THE KALACURIS

The epic and the Purāṇic traditions[1] say that the Haihyas were descendants of Sahasrajit, a son of Yadu and grandson of Yayāti, Māhiṣmati[2] which received its name after Mahiṣmat, a descendant of Haihya, a grandson of Sahasrajit, was their capital. Arjuna Kārtavīrya, who is also referred to as Samrāj and Cakravartin, was regarded as the greatest king of this line.[3] Tālajaṅgha,[4] who had many sons, was next important king of this group. The Purāṇas give us an account of five different groups of the Haihyas, viz., the Vitihotras, Śāryātras, Bhojas, Avantīs and Tuṇḍikeras, who were all Tālajaṅghas.[5] But from inscriptions we also learn that there were some other branches of this line. The Ārjunāyanas, who paid their homage to Samudragupta, the Gupta emperor claimed their descent from the Haihya Arjuna.[6] But the Kalacuris,[7] who claimed such descent, was regarded as the most important line. Several inscriptions from the sixth century AD down to the fifteenth century AD refer to their name. The earliest inscriptions of the Kalacuris mention that the Avanti-Mandhāta region was their important centre.[8] Their power extended in the south up to the Nāsik district. Then they came into conflict with the Chālukya king, Mangaleśa who led an expedition against the Kalacuri king Buddha and defeated him.[9] This Buddha has been identified with the son of Śaṅkaragaṇa.[10] From the name Buddha it appears that he was a

devout worshipper of the Lord Buddha and was a follower of Buddhism. The Kalacuris extended their dominions in the west as far as Ānand in the Kaira district of Gujarat; and on the east their power reached up to the whole course of Narbadā including a large portion of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand.[11] But the Chālukyas of Badami pressed them very much and the Kalacuris lost most of their southern provinces.[12] The Gurjara-Pratihāras also invaded the region of the Kalacuris and forced them to leave Mālavā in the seventh and eighth centuries AD.[13] As a result the Kalacuris stayed in the provinces around the upper course of the Narbadā and Bundelkhand.[14] In the meantime the Gurjara-Pratihāras became very powerful in northern India and owing to their heavy pressure the Kalacuris could not stay in their own land and they then decided to move in different parts of India. Only one branch of the line decided to stay in the Madhya Pradesh and other branches went towards the nothern and southern parts of India. It is known from historical records that after the downfall and the disappearance of the Gurjara-Pratihāra power, the Kalacuris again rose into prominence and became very prominent in North Indian history.

The various branches of the Kalacuris of northern India can be divided under three groups, viz., the Kalacuris of Gorakhpur, the Kalacuris of Dahala[15] and the Kalacuris of Tuṃmāṇa.[16]

The Kalacuris of Gorakhpur

The Kahla plate of Ṣoḍhadeva and a stone inscription from Kasia throw flood of light on the existence of the Kalacuris of Gorakhpur.[17] From inscriptions we learn that the Kalacuris had two groups, viz., the Kahla and the Kasia Kalacuris.[18] The Kahla grant was found at the village of Kahla of the Gorakhpur district. It opens with 'Oṃ Savasti' and says that Ṣoḍhadeva, who was a Paramamaheśvara, "granted to 14 Brāhmaṇas, various places of land situated in a group of 6 villages included in the Guṇakala-viṣaya of (the district of) Tikarikā."[19] King Rājaputra was the founder of the Kahla branch of the Kalacuris. The Kasia stone inscription was found at the Buddhist ruins near Kasia in all probability the ancient site of Kuśinagara, in the district of Gorakhpur (U.P).[20] It contains 24 lines. It was written in Nāgarī characters of about the 12th century AD.[21] It opens with an invocation to the Buddha. The first four verses refer to Śaṅkara, Pārvatī, Tārā and the Buddha. It then gives the mythical and historical portion of the genealogy.[22]

Viṣṇu (Bhagavān)—created
|
Brahman—created
|
Atri—from his eye
|
Candramā (the moon)
|
Buddha
|
Manu
|
Ilā
|
Purūravas-Urvaśī
|
Āyus
|
Nahuṣa
|
Yayāti
|
Yadu and four other kings
|
Sahasrada[23]
|
Haihya[24]

In his family
Kārtavīrya

In his family
Śaṅkaragaṇa
|
Nannarāja
|
Lakṣmaṇa (I)
|
Śivarāja (I)
|
Bhīmata (I)
|
Rājaputra Lakṣmaṇa (II)
|

|
Śivarāja (II)
|
name lost-Bhūdā
|
Lakṣmaṇarāja (III)
Kāñcanā
|
Bhimaṭa (II)

From the inscription we do not know the name of the king in whose reign this inscription was engraved. The epigraph recorded the erection of the brick shrine in which the large black stone image of the Buddha was originally enshrined and near the doorway of which it was discovered.[25] There is no date in it.

Śaṅkaragaṇa was the founder of the Kasia Kalacuri group. His son and successor was Nannarāja. Lakṣmaṇa, who was his son succeeded him. The next ruler was Śivarāja I. His prowess resembled the light of the flame created by (the sage) Aurva and who was more successful even than Kīrti.[26] This Kīrti has not yet been identified. The next ruler was Bhīmaṭa (I). Then Rājaputra Lakṣmaṇa (II) succeeded his father, Bhīmaṭa (I). After him, Śivarāja II ascended the throne. He produced confusion in the circle of his enemies.[27] His son was "the crest-jewel of kings." Lakṣmaṇarāja III was his son. He was praised for his victories against his enemies.[28] He was succeeded by his son Bhīmaṭa II who earned fame by his fierce prowess.[29]

The Kalacuris of Dāhala or Tripurī[30]

From epigraphic evidence we learn that the Kalacuris reigned in Madhya Pradesh for about 300 years. Their records mention that they claimed their descent from heaven. Here is given the mythical portion of their genealogy.[31]

Viṣṇu: from his navel
(The god) born from the lotus (Brahmā)
|
Atri
|
The friend of the ocean (the moon)
|
Buddha (Or Bodhana)—son-in-law of the friend of the lotuses (i.e., the Sun)

Pururavas—Urvaśī

In his family
Bharata—'whose pure fame is proclaimed by the Jamunā, hammed in by more than a hundred posts of horse-sacrifices (offered by him).'

In his family (anvaya)
The Haihya Cakravartī Kartavīrya Arjuna, who praised Rāvaṇa... He beget the Kalacuri Vaṃśa.

Kokkalla[32] was regarded as the founder of the Kalacuri dynasty of Dāhala.[33] The Bilhari stone inscription which belonged to the reign of Yuvarāja says that Kokkalladeva "having conquered the whole earth, set up two unprecedented columns of his fame,—in the quarter of the pitcher-born (Agastya, i.e., the south) that well-known Kṛṣṇarāja and in the quarter of Kuvera (i.e., in the north) Bhojadeva, a store of fortune."[34] The Benares grant of Karṇa mentions that the hand of Kokkalla "granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, the Citrakūṭabhūpāla Harṣa, and rājā Śaṅkaragaṇa."[35] The same inscription refers to Kokkalla's marriage with a lady named Naṭṭā or Naṭṭādevī (Naṭṭākhayadevī), who belonged to the Chandella dynasty.[36] According to Kielhorn, Kṛṣṇa-Vallabha of Malkhed (*c.* AD 878-912), and Harṣa was the Chandella Harṣa of Khajraho (*c.* AD 1000).[37] Kṛṣṇa II married Kokkalla's daughter,[38] who, according to the Karda plates, was the younger sister of Śaṅkuka.[39] A. Cunningham and Kielhorn say that Bhojadeva of the Bilhari and Benares inscriptions was Bhoja I, the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler (*c.* 836-82).[40] H.C. Ray says, "But as one of the contemporaries of Kokkalla, the Chandella Harṣadeva, was possibly a contemporary of Mahīpāla I, the younger brother of Bhoja II (*c.* AD 908-14), it is just possible that the Gurjara contemporary of Kokkalla may have been Bhoja II, and not Bhoja I."[41] According to Cunningham, Kokkalla probably reigned in the period between AD 860 to 900.[42] H.C. Ray states that he reigned between AD 875 and AD 925.[43] He established matrimonial alliances with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Chandellas and also maintained friendly ties with the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj.[44] The Amoḍa plates of the Haihya Pṛthvīdeva of Tuṃmāṇa of AD 1079 describes that Kokkalla plundered "the territories of the Karṇāṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Koṅkaṇa, and Śākambharī kings and also of those born of the Turuṣka and Raghu families."[45] Here the word Turuṣka wants to mean the Turks, who represented the ruling families of Ghazni and Ghūr, and the Turks did not invade India before the middle of the 10th century AD.

It is very probable that Kokkalla ruled over the territory which roughly corresponds to the Jubbulpore district.[46]

The inscriptions of the Haihya kings of Ratnapura mention that Kokkalla had 18 sons. The eldest one ascended the throne of Tripuri and the others were the feudatory chiefs in the kingdom.[47] They describe Kalingarāja as one of these younger sons and the Kalacuris of Tummāṇa traced their descent from him.[48] The Bilhari stone inscription which belonged to the time of Yuvarāja II says that Mugdhatuṅga, who was the son of Kokkalla, succeeded his father.[49] But the Benares grant of Karṇa tells us that his son Prasiddhadhavala ascended the throne after him.[50] But it is known that these two names were Yuvarāja I's father's names. Thus from it we conclude that Mugdhatuṅga and Prasiddhadhavala are one and the same person. Bālaharṣa succeeded his father Prasiddhadhavala.[51] The Benares grant of Karṇa refers to him as nṛpati.[52] It indicates that he reigned for some time. He was succeeded by his younger brother Yuvarāja.[53] The Candrehe stone inscription of AD 973 gives us an idea that Yuvarāja I's kingdom included a portion of Baghelkhand in the north.[54]

A Candrehe stone inscription was written "on two slabs of stone 'built into the walls of the front verandah of a Śaiva monastery which stands close to the great temple of Śiva at Candrehe' on the Son river in Rewa."[55] It belongs to the Mattamayūra sect of the Śaiva ascetics.[56] It records the re-excavation and rebuilding of a well by Prabodhaśiva which was formerly excavated by his guru Praśāntaśiva. The latter was a disciple of Prabhāvaśiva.[57] Another stone inscription was found in the ruins of Gurgi which was located near the town of Rewa.[58] It mentions that Yuvarājadeva, son of Mugdhatuṅga, brought the Mattamayūra ascetic Prabhāvaśiva to this part of the country and the latter accepted a temple. An unpublished inscription was found at Malakāpuram in Madras. It informs us that Yuvarāja offered 3 lakhs of villages as a *bhikṣā* to the Śaiva teacher Sadbhāvaśambhu of the Dāhala-maṇḍala located between the Bhāgīrathī and the Narmadā.[59] The Bilhari stone inscription says that Yuvarāja's wife Nohalā near the modern Bilhari built a temple of Śiva and also gave the villages Dhaṅgata-pāṭaka Poṇḍī, Nāgabala, Khaila-pāṭaka, Vīdā, Sajjāhalī and Goṣṭhapāli.[60] She also gave the villages of Nipanīya and Ambipāṭaka to Īśvaraśiva who was a disciple of Śabdaśiva, as a reward for his learning.[61] All these inscriptions inform us about the popularity of Śaivism in the kingdom of Yuvarāja I.

Lakṣmaṇarāja succeeded his father Yuvarāja I. The Bilhari inscription mentions that the former was a worshipper of Śiva.[62] The Goharwa grant of Lakṣmī-Karṇa states that he conquered the kings of Vaṅgāla, Pāṇḍya, Lāta, Gurjara and Kashmir.[63] The Bilhari stone inscription of the reign of Yuvarāja II informs us that Lakṣmaṇarāja like his father patronised the Śaiva ascetics, who came from Kadambaguhā.[64] It then says that Rudraśambhu's disciple was Mattamayūranātha. His disciple's disciple was Mādhumāteya. His disciple's disciple was Hṛdayaśiva, who was honoured by Lakṣmaṇarāja. The latter sent him presents and gave him the temple of the holy Vaidyanātha.[65]

Lakṣmaṇarāja was succeeded by his son Śaṅkaragaṇa. The latter was a Parama-vaiṣṇava.[66] The Goharwa grant of Lakṣmī-Karṇa omits his name. According to scholars, Yuvarāja II ascended the throne after Lakṣmaṇarāja. The Goharwa plates of Lakṣmī-Karṇa describes him a " 'moon among the kings of Cedī' (Cedīndra Candra), 'who became a supreme ruler' (Parameśvara)".[67] The Karanbel stone inscription of Jayasiṃha says that he offered the wealth which he took from other kings to the holy Someśvara (i.e., Somanātha in Gujarat).[68] The Bilhari stone inscription of the Śaiva ascetics of the Mattamayūra sect which belonged to the time of Yuvarāja II begins with 'Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya' and invokes Śiva under various names.[69] It records the various gifts and endowments to the temple of Śiva built by Yuvarāja I's wife Nohalā. It also mentions the monastery of Nohaleśvara. These two inscriptions show us that Śaivism prospered in the Cedī kingdom under the patronage of Yuvarāja II and his people. The king was a devout follower of Śaivism.

Kokkalla II succeeded his father Yuvarāja II. The Jubbulpore and Khaira plates of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa describe him "a lion-like prince, a progress of whose four-fold (*caturaṅga*) armies was checked (only) by their encountering the masses of waves of the four oceans."[70] These inscriptions inform us that the chief ministers of Yuvarāja II installed him on the throne.[71] This gives us indication that he was not the heir-apparent of his father or at the time of Kokkala's death he was still a minor.[72] No record gives a detailed account of his reign. It shows that he had a very inglorious reign. Kokkalla II, like his predecessors, probably was a patron of the Mattamayūra Śaiva ascetics.[73]

Gāṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya (*c.* AD 1031-41), who was the son of Kokkalla II, ascended the throne after his death.[74] He was an able and ambitious ruler. He wanted to attain the position of paramount power in northern India, and from his records we learn that he succeeded to a considerable extent. The Piawan rock inscription of AD 1038[75] was found at Piawan which was about 25 miles to the north-east of Rewa. It begins with the name of Śrīmad-Gāṅgeyadeva Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara ... Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. It contains the word Maheśvara which indicates that it was a Śaiva record. This

inscription says that before AD 1038 he was on throne of Dāhala as a successor of his father. The Goharwa plates of Lakṣmī-Karṇa[76] inform us that the king of Kīra was imprisoned by Gāṅgeyadeva and the rulers of Aṅga, Kuntala and Utkala were defeated at his hands. The Khairha and the Jubbulpore grants of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa mention his name Vikramāditya.[77] These two inscriptions give Gāṅgeyadeva's victory over the king of Kuntala. The Piawan rock inscription as well as the Kalacuri records mention that Gāṅgeyadeva at the feet of the holy fig-tree at Prayāga took up his residence.[78] This suggests that after conquering Allahabad and Varanasi he extended his power up to Ganges in the north. It is very possible that the whole of the Baghelkhund Agency came under his possession.[79] Baihaqi says that when Ahmed Niyāl-tigīn, the general of the Yāmīnī king Mas'ūd (c. AD 1030-40), attacked Benares in AD 1034, which was at that time under the control of Gāṅgeyadeva.[80] The latter has been identified with the Kalacuri king Gāṅgeya. The *Pārijātamañjarī* of Madana states that Paramāra king Bhoja (c. AD 1010-55) defeated him in battle.[81] It is very probable that Gāṅgeya was a devout worshipper of Śiva.

Gāṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya was succeeded by his son Lakṣmī-Karṇa or Karṇadeva (c. AD 1041-70). In the latter's Benares grant there is a reference to the former who meditated on the feet of Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Śrī-Vāmadeva.[82] Several records of his successors also mention that they meditated on the feet of Vāmadeva.[83] Even the later Chandellas of Jejāka-bhukti adopted this method from the Kalacuris.[84] In the genealogial lists of the Kalacuris there is no reference to the name of Vāmadeva. Though Vāmadeva is a well-known name of Śiva, but the reference to the epithets Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara may suggest that the predecessor of the reigning prince is meant by the name of Vāmadeva.[85] Lakṣmī-Karṇa was regarded as one of the greatest Indian conquerors. The *Rāsa Mālā* describes, "At this time the rājā named Karun in Dāhul land, the modern Tipera, and over the sacred city of Kāśī or Benares. He was the son of queen Demut, distinguished for her religious observances, who lost her life in giving him birth. Being born under a good star, this king extended his territory towards all four points of the compass. One hundred and thirty-six kings worshipped the lotus feet of Kurun."[86] It is said that Lakṣmī-Karṇa with the help of the Chālukya king Bhīma of Gujarat defeated Bhoja, the king of Mālavā.[87] From Tibetan tradition we learn that Lakṣmī-Karṇa attacked Magadha and destroyed many Buddhist temples and monasteries.[88] It contains stories of a war between Nāyapāla, king of Magadha and the Tīrthika king of Karṇya of the west. We are told that failing to capture the city, Karṇya's

troops sacked some of the sacred Buddhist institutions and killed altogether five (men), out of whom four were ordained monks and one *upāsaka*. At this time the celebrated Buddhist monk Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna (also called Atīśa) who had accepted the post of High Priest of Vikramaśīlā at the request of Nayapāla, was in residence at the vihāra of Mahābodhi at Vajrāsana. When a good deal of church-furniture was carried away as booty, Atīśa showed no concern or anger. But afterwards when victory turned towards (Nayapāla) and the troops of Karṇya were being slaughtered by the armies of Magadha, he took Karṇya and his men under his protection and sent them away. Atīśa then caused a treaty to be concluded between the two kings. With the exception of the articles of food that were destroyed at the time of war, all other things which had fallen in the hands of the parties were either restored or compensated for. Unmindful of his health even at the risk of his life, Atīśa again and again crossed the rivers that lay between the two kingdoms and thereby brought peace to all living beings.[89] King Karṇya of the west has been identified by scholars with the Tripurī Kalacuri Lakṣmī-Karṇa. The Bheraghat inscription of Alhanadevī mentions the latter's victories. It says, "while this king, of unprecedented lustre, gave full play to his heroism, the Pāṇḍya relinquished violence, the Murala gave up his arrogant bearing, the Kuṅga entered the path of the good, Vaṅga trembled with the Kaliṅgas, the Kīra stayed at home like a parrot in the cage, (and) the Hūṇa left off being merry."[90] From the above facts we learn that Lakṣmī-Karṇa occupied an important position in the political history of ancient India. After the complete destruction of the Paramāras and the Chandellas, Central India came under his full control. From the discovery of his inscriptions at Paikore, Benares and Goharwa (Allahabad district), the establishment of his close ties with the Gurjara, Karṇāta and Gauḍa kings and the assumption of the titles of Traikaliṅgādhipati, we conclude that for some time he extended his dominions from the sources of the Banas and the Mahi rivers in the west to the estuaries of the Hooghly in the west, and from the Ganges-Jumnā valley in the north to the upper waters of the Mahānadī, Wainganga, Wardha and Tapti.[91] But towards the latter part of his life he was defeated by Nayapāla and his son Vigrahapāla III, the Chandella king Kīrtivarman, the Paramāra ruler Udayāditya, the Chālukya king Bhīma I and the Chālukya king of Kalyānī, Someśvara I.[92] It is very probable that Lakṣmī-Karṇa's reign probably came to an end in AD 1070.[93]

Lakṣmī-Karṇa was a devotee of Śiva. He constructed a temple of the Meru type at Kāśī which became famous as Karṇameru.[94] There are inscriptions which belonged to the reign of Lakṣmī-Karṇa. The Benares grant was discovered at the bottom of a well in the old fort

of Benares. It begins with, 'Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya' and a verse in honour of Śiva. It mentions that the king worshipped the god (Trilocana), (Śiva) and granted Kāśī *(bhūmy)-anta(r ga)ta* Susi-grāma to the learned Viśvarūpa.[95] The Goharwa grant of AD 1047 was discovered in a field in the old fort at Goharwa of the Allahabad district. It begins with, 'Oṃ Brāhmaṇa namaḥ' and a verse in praise of Śiva. It says that Karṇadeva "after having bathed in the Gaṅgā and the holy Arghatīrtha and worshipped the divine Lord Śiva, granted the village of Candapahā ... to the paṇḍita Śānti Śarman."[96] The Paikore decorative pillar inscription was discovered at Paikore in the district of Birbhum in Bengal. It mentions that "the image of a goddess was made by an order of the king himself."[97] The Rewa stone inscription of AD 1060-61 opens with an invocation to Śiva. It mentions some donation of land to Śiva Vapuleśvar, who was named after Vapula, a devoted worshipper of the feet of Karṇadeva.[98] The above inscriptions show us that Śaivism prospered in the Cedī kingdom under the patronage of Lakṣmī-Karṇa.

The Sārnāth stone inscripition of AD 1058 shows that Buddhism flourished during the rule of the Kalacuri ruler Lakṣmī-Karṇa. This inscription was discovered in the trench to the north of the Jaina enclosure, west of the Dhanek. It contains 14 lines and is written in corrupt Sanskrit. It is dated in the victorious reign of Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Śrī-Vāmadeva-padānudhyāta-P.M. Paramamāheśvara-Tṛ (Tri)-Kaliṅgādhipati-nija-bhujopārjit-Aśvapati-Gajapati-Narapatu-rājā-trayādhipati-Śrimat-Karṇadeva. It records that the Mahājān-ānujaina-Paramopāsikā Māmaka, wife of one Dhaneśvara caused a copy of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā to be written in the Saddharmacakrapravarttana Mahāvihāra...[99]

Yaśaḥ-Karṇa succeeded his father Lakṣmī-Karṇa some time before AD 1073. In Yaśaḥ-Karṇa's own grants he is called the Jambudvīparatnapradīpa who had erected high pillars of victory near and ends of the earth.[100] From his own grants we get an account of his victories: "Extirpating with ease the ruler of Āndhra (even though) the play of (that king's) arms disclosed no flaw, he reverenced the holy Bhīmeśvara with many ornaments. The Godāvarī with her waves, trees and creeping plants dancing, has sung his deeds of valour with the seven notes of her stream, sweet like the cries of the intoxicated flamingo."[101] The holy Bhīmeśvara has been identified with the rather handsome two-storeyed shrine of the god Bhīmeśvara-svāmin at Drākṣārāma (Godāvarī district). The Āndhra king was probably the Chālukya Vijayāditya, who reigned in Veṅgī from about AD 1064 to 1074. We are told that in the reign of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, Candradeva, the Gāhaḍavāla king of Benares and Kanauj, conquered the Ganges-

Jumnā Doab from the Kalacuris.[102] The Chandella ruler Sallakṣaṇavarman, the Chālukya Vikramāditya VI and Lakṣmadeva of the Paramāra dynasty of Mālwā defeated Yaśaḥ-Karṇa in battle.[103]

The following inscriptions which belonged to the reign of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa were found. The Khairah grant of AD 1073 was discovered at Khaihra in the Rewah state. It begins with 'Oṃ namo Brāhmaṇa'. It says that Yaśaḥ-Karṇa granted the village of Deula-paincela to a Brāhmaṇa named Gaṅgādhara Śarman.[104] The Jubbulpore grant opens with 'Oṃ namo Brāhmaṇa' and refers to the genealogy of the Kalacuris from the moon down to Yaśah-Karṇa.[105] Like his predecessors Yaśaḥ-Karṇa was a follower of Śaivism.

Gayā-Karṇa ascended the throne of the Cedī kingdom after his father Yaśaḥ-Karṇa. The Tewar stone inscription of AD 1151 opens with 'Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya' and gives the genealogy of the rulers of the Ātreya-*gotra* from Lakṣmī-Karṇa.[106] It records the erection of a temple of Śiva by a Pāśupata (or Pāñcārthika) ascetic named Bhāvabrahmaṇa, a disciple of the ascetic Bhāvatejas. His inscription gives us clear indication about the development of Śaivism in his kingdom. The references to the construction of a temple of Śiva and Pāśupata ascetic show us that Śaivism reached the zenith of its glory during the rule of the Kalacuris. From the Mau inscription of the Chandellas we learn the Chandella king Madanavarman defeated Gayā-Karṇa in fierce fight.[107]

Narasiṃha (*c.* AD 1155-70) succeeded his father Gayā-Karṇa. The Bheraghāt stone inscription of AD 1155 was discovered at Bheraghāt on the Narbadā in the Jubbulpore district inthe Madhya Pradesh.[108] It opens with 'Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya' and refers to the blessings of Śiva, Gaṇeśa and Sarasvatī. It mentions the foundation of a temple of Śiva, with a *maṭha*, a hall of study and gardens attached to it by the widowed queen Alhaṇadevī. She also gave two villages to these institutions. A Pāśupata ascetic of Lāṭa lineage was given charge for the management of the whole establishment. This indicates that Śaivism prospered during the rule of Narasiṃha. The Lal-Pahad rock inscription near Bhārhut and the Ālhā-Ghāṭ stone inscription give us information that the Kalacuris probably recovered some portions of Baghelkhand from the Chandellas.[109]

Jayasiṃha in AD 1175 ascended the throne after his brother Narasiṃha. The Tewar stone inscription of the reign of Jayasiṃha refers to the erection of a temple of Śiva by the Nāyaka Keśava in AD 1177.[110] The Karanbel stone inscription was found at Karanbel near Jubbulpore in the Madhya Pradesh.[111] It opens with 'Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya' and also refers to the blessings of Śiva, Gajānana and Sarasvatī. Jayasiṃha was a devout worshipper of Śiva.

Jayasiṃha was succeeded by his son Vijayasiṃha probably before AD 1180. The Kumbhi grant of AD 1180 was found at Kumbhi about 35 miles from Jubbulpore.[112] It begins with 'Oṃ namo Brāhmaṇa' and gives a genealogy of the dynasty from Brahmā down to Vijayasiṃha. The Gopālpur stone inscription of the reign of Vijayasiṃha opens with 'Oṃ namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya'. It mentions the erection of temple of Viṣṇu by a member of the Kāśyapīya family. The Bheraghāṭ stone inscription mentions that Mahāraja Vijayasiṃhadeva and Śrīmad Ajayasiṃhadeva daily saluted the feet of the god Vaidyanātha.[113]

The Rewah stone inscription of AD 1192 in the reign of Vijayasiṃha opens with an invocation to Mañjughoṣa, the Buddhist god of learning. It mentions "the excavation of a tank by a Malaysiṃha under the superintendence of Harisiṃha, at a cost of 1,500 tankakas stamped with the figure of Buddha (Bhagavat)."[114] This inscription shows us that Buddhism prospered in the Cedī kingdom under the patronage of the Kalacuris.

From the Kumbhi inscription we learn that Mahākumāra Ajayasiṃha who was one of the sons of Vijayasiṃha, succeeded his father. The Batihagarh stone inscription of AD 1328 as well as the Bamhni Satī record of the reign of Ala-ud-din dated AD 1309[115] inform us that from the middle of the 13th century AD to the first quarter of the 14th century AD the Muhammedans had extended their power up to the Bhanrer Range. The Kalacuris of Dāhala probably as a minor power maintained their existence in the Jubbulpore region for some time.[116] But the Gonds in order to establish their position in Jubbulpore overthrew the Kalacuri dynasty in the beginning of the fifteenth century AD.[117]

The Kalacuris of Tuṃmāṇa[118]

The Kalacuris of Tuṃmāṇa claimed that they descended from Kokkalla I who was regarded as the founder of Kalacuris of Dāhala or Tripuri. Because they trace their pedigree to one Kaliṅgarāja, who claimed descent from one of the 17 younger sons of Kokkalla I.[119] We know further that in order not to impoverish the treasury of Tritasaurya he abandoned that ancestral land and acquired by his two arms the country of Dakṣiṇakośala. Since Tuṃmāṇa had been made a royal residence by his ancestors, therefore residing there, he increased his fortune, causing the destruction of his enemies.[120] But scholars still find it very difficult to identify Tritasaurya. They suggest that it was a portion of Tripuri and its adjoining regions which were the original territories of the Kalacuris.[121] H.C. Ray says, "Dakṣiṇa-Kośala is generally taken to represent roughly the modern division of Chattīsgarh of the Central Province, while Tuṃmāṇa has been identified with the modern village of Tuṃmāṇa in the Lapha Zamindari of Bilaspur district."[122] It is generally agreed that the Kalacuris of Tuṃmāṇa were the feudatories of the Kalacuris of Dāhala but during the reign of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, the former became completely independent.[123]

Kamalarāja ascended the throne of the Kalacuris of Tuṃmāṇa after his father Kaliṅgarāja. The Amoḍa plates of his grandson Pṛthvīdeva I says that the former defeated the Utkala *nṛpa* and endeavoured to equal Gāṅgeyadeva in prosperity.[124] Ratnarāja who succeeded his father Kamalarāja,[125] ornamented Tuṃmāṇa with the temples of the gods Vaṃkeśa, Ratneśvara and other gods and also with gardens of flowers, and fruits, palatial dwellings and a charming high mango grove.[126] He founded the city of Ratnapura and built many temples there. Pṛthvīdeva alias Pṛthvīśa succeeded his father Ratnarāja.[127] The next ruler was Jajalladeva. The Ratnapur stone inscription of AD 1114 mentions the establishment of a monastery for ascetics (*tapasamaṭha*), the construction of a garden and a lake and also the foundation of a temple at Jajallapura and also the grant of two villages by king Jajalladeva.[128]

The next ruler was Ratnadeva II. He is referred to as the lord of the whole Kośala country in the grants of his son. Pṛthvīdeva II ascended the throne after his father Ratnadeva II. Several inscriptions of his reign were found. The Rajim stone inscription of AD 1145 was found at Rajim in the Raipur district.[129] It opens with 'Oṃ namo Nārāyaṇāya'. The Amoḍa grant was found in the village of Amoḍa which was situated in the south-east of Bilāspur in Madhya Pradesh. It opens with 'Oṃ Oṃ namo Brāhmaṇa'.

Jajalladeva II succeeded his father Pṛthvīdeva II. The Malhar stone inscription of AD 1167-68[130] opens with 'Oṃ Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya' and invokes the god Śambhu and Gaṇapati. It records the construction of a temple of the god Kedāra (Śiva) at Mallāla (modern Malhar or Malar) by the Brāhmaṇa Somarāja. Ratnadeva III ascended the throne after his father Jajalladeva II. The Kharod stone inscription of AD 1181-82 belonged to his reign. It was found inside a Śiva temple at the small village of Kharoḍ in the Bilāspur district.[131] A Ratanpur stone inscription[132] of AD 1189-90 describes the reign of king Pṛthvīdeva who, according to scholars, was Ratnadeva III's successor. It opens with 'Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya' and invokes the gods Rudra and Gaṇapati.

It is generally agreed that the Muslims never established their power in the Chhattīsgarh region because the Khalari stone inscription of the Kalacuri king Haribrahmadeva of AD 1415[133] and Arang plate of the Haihaya king Amarasiṃhadeva of AD 1735[134] show us that

the Kalacuris ruled over the Chhattīsgarh region in the 18th century AD. But in AD 1750 they were overthrown by the Bhonslas of Nāgpur.[135]

GENEALOGY

The Kalacuris of Gorakhpur[136]

1. *Kahala Branch*

- Lakṣmaṇarāja
- Rājaputra
- Śivarāja
- Śaṅkaragaṇa
- Guṇāṃbodhideva
- Kañcanadevī alias Guṇasāgara Madanadevī
- Bhāmanadeva
- Dehaṭṭadevī
- Śaṅkaragaṇa II Mugdhatuṅga
- Vidyā
  - Guṇasāgara II
    - Rājāva
    - Śivarāja II Bhāmana
    - Suggaladevī
    - Śaṅkaragaṇa III
    - Yaśolekhyadevī
    - Bhīma
  - Lāvaṇyavatī
    - Vyāsa
    - Sidhadeva

2. *Kasia Branch*

- Śaṃkaragaṇa
- Nannarāja
- Lakṣmaṇa I
- Śivarāja I
- Bhīmata I
- Rājaputra Lakṣmaṇa II
- Śivarāja II
- Bhūdā
- Lakṣmaṇarājadeva III
- Kāñcanā
- Bhīmata II

The Kalacuris of Ḍāhala or Tripurī[137]

- Kokkalla
- Mugdhatuṅga
  - Bālaharṣa
  - Yuvarāja I Keyuravarṣa
    - Nohalā
    - Lakṣmaṇarāja
    - Rālaḍā
      - Śaṅkaragaṇa (II ?)
      - Yuvarāja II
        - Kokkalla II
        - Gāṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya
        - Dematā
        - |

Lakṣmī-Karṇa
|
Avalladevī
|
Yaśaḥ-Karṇa
|
Gayā-Karṇa
|
Alhaṇadevī
|
Narasiṃha — Jayasiṃha
|
Gosaladevī
|
Vijayasiṃha
|
Mahākumāra Ajayasiṃha

The Kalacuris of Tuṃmāṇa or Ratnapura[138]

Kokkalla of the Ḍāhala branch
A younger son, lord of a *maṇḍala*
Kaliṅgarāja
Kamalarāja
Nonallā—Ratnarāja I or Ratneśa
Pṛthvīdeva or Pṛthvīśa
Jajalladeva I
Ratnadeva II
Pṛthvīdeva II
Jajalladeva II
Ratnadeva III
Pṛthvīdeva III

The Kalacuris of Raipur[139]

(a) Siṃhaṇa
Rāmadeva
Haribrahmadeva
(b) Amarasiṃhadeva

REFERENCES

1 *DHNI*, II, 738; *EI*, II, 229 ff; XII, 268 ff.
2 *DHNI*, II, 738—Modern Mandhāta on the Narbadā, Nimār district, Madhya Pradesh.
3 Ibid. 4 Ibid. 5 Ibid.; *AIHT*, 41 ff.
6 *DHNI*, III, 738; *CII*, III, 10; *BG*, I, II, 293.
7 *DHNI*, II, 738, fn 4—There are several variants of this name, viz., Kaṭaccūri (*EI*, IX, 296), Kataccuri (ibid., VI, 5, 297), Kalatsūri (*IA*, XIX, 18), Kalacuri (ibid., XVI, 22) Kalacuti (*EI*, II, 228 ff) and Kulacurib (*JASB*, VIII, I, 481 ff; *IA*, XVII, 140).
8 *DHNI*, II, 739. 9 Ibid. 10 Ibid.
11 Ibid., 740. 12 Ibid., 741. 13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid., 742. fn 1—"usually known as Kalacuris of Tripurī." "Ḍhāhala is possibly another variation of the name spelt as Ḍabhālā (*CII*, III, 114), Ḍahālā, Ḍāhala, Ḍāhāla, Ḍahāla, Dahalā etc. In Kanarese sometimes Ḍhala."—*DHNI*, II, 772.
16 *DHNI*, II, 724, fn 2—Popularly known as Kalacuris of Ratanapura. But the dynasty even after the foundation of Ratanapura claims to be rulers of Tuṃmāṇa.
17 Ibid., 742. 18 Ibid. 19 Ibid., 742-44.
20 Ibid., 748; *NKGW*, 300-2. 21 *DHNI*, II, 748.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid., 748, fn 2—"In Purāṇic tradition the name is spelt Sahasrajit"—*AIHT*, 144.
24 *DHNI*, II, 748, fn 3—The inscription omits 8 kings between Haihaya and Kārtavīrya (Arjuna).
25 Ibid., II, 749. 26 Ibid., 750. 27 Ibid.
28 Ibid. 29 Ibid.
30 *EHI*, 405—"Western Cedī or Ḍāhala with its capital Trīpura near Jubbulpore."
31 *DHNI*, II, 751.
32 Ibid., 753, fn 2. "Among the variants of this name may be mentioned Kokkalla."
33 *GOHNI*, II, 753, fn 1—Sometimes the family is said to have arisen in the Ātreya-*gotra* (*IA*, XVII, 210). At other times the family is called Haihaya-*kula* (*IA*, XII, 265, l. 16), Cedī-*kula* (*EI*, I, 46) and Sahasrār-*vaṃsa* (ibid., I, 42; XII, 250, l.16).
34 *GOHNI*, II, 753; *EI*, I, 264, v. 17.
35 *GOHNI*, II, 753; *EI*, II, 300, 306, v.7.
36 *GOHNI*, II, 753; *EI*, II, 300, 306, v. 8.
37 *GOHNI*, II, 753; *EI*, II, 301, 304.
38 *GOHNI*, II, 753; *IA*, XII, 250, 295. 39 *GOHNI*, II, 753.
40 Ibid., 754. 41 Ibid. 42 Ibid.
43 Ibid. 44 Ibid., 754-55. 45 Ibid., 755.
46 Ibid. 47 Ibid. 48 Ibid., 755-56.
49 Ibid., 756-57. 50 Ibid., 757. 51 Ibid.
52 Ibid.; *EI*, II, 306-7, v. 13. 53 Ibid., II, 760.
54 Ibid., 762. 55 Ibid. 56 Ibid.
57 Ibid. 58 Ibid.
59 Ibid., 763; *ABOI*, 1927-28, 288-90. 60 *GOHNI*, II, 763.
61 Ibid. 62 Ibid., 764. 63 Ibid.
64 Ibid., 767. 65 Ibid. 66 Ibid., 768.
67 Ibid. 68 Ibid., 768-69; *IA*, XVIII, 215-16, l. 7.
69 *GOHNI*, II, 770. 70 Ibid., 771. 71 Ibid.

[72] Ibid. [73] Ibid. [74] Ibid., 772.
[75] Ibid. [76] *DHNI,* II, 772. [77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid., 773. [79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.; 774, *CHI,* III, 29-30. [81] *DHNI,* II, 774.
[82] Ibid., 775. [83] Ibid. [84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid., 776. [86] Ibid., 777. [87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.,778. [89] Ibid., 326-27.
[90] Ibid., 778; *EI,* II, 15, v. 12—"Kira was probably located in the Kāṅgra valley; while Kuṅga is taken by some to correspond to the modern districts of Salem and Coimbatore. Murala is sometimes located in Malabar."
[91] *DHNI,* II, 779. [92] Ibid., 780. [93] Ibid., 782.
[94] Ibid. [95] Ibid., 783. [96] Ibid., 784.
[97] Ibid. [98] Ibid., 785.
[99] Ibid., 786; *ASIAR,* 1906-7, 100-1. [100] *DHNI,* II, 787.
[101] Ibid. [102] Ibid., 788. [103] Ibid., 788-89.
[104] Ibid., 789. [105] Ibid., 790. [106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid., 791. [108] Ibid., 793. [109] Ibid., 794.
[110] Ibid., 796; *JAOS,* VI, 512-13. [111] *DHNI,* II, 796.
[112] Ibid., 797; *JASG,* VIII, 1839, I, 481-95. [113] *DHNI,* II, 800.
[114] Ibid., 798; *ASIWC,* 1921, 52. [115] *DHNI,* II, 800.
[116] Ibid., 802. [117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid., 802, fn 2—"Usually called Kalacuris of Ratanapura", "Eastern Cedī or Mahākośala with its capital at Ratanapura."—*EHI,* 405.
[119] *DHNI,* II, 802. [120] Ibid. [121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid., 803. [123] Ibid., 791-92, 803. [124] Ibid., 803.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid., 803-4, fn 1—"The god Vaṅkeśa the lord of Vagabonds is taken by some to be an aboriginal deity; but it was probably a name of Śiva who was always accompanied by an army of vagabonds."
[127] Ibid., 804. [128] Ibid., 806.
[129] Ibid., 809; *ASRC,* XVII, 18. [130] *DHNI,* II, 812.
[131] Ibid., 813. [132] Ibid. [133] Ibid., 805.
[134] Ibid. [135] Ibid. [136] Ibid., 816-17.
[137] Ibid., 818. [138] Ibid., 819. [139] Ibid.

7. THE PARAMĀRAS

Epigraphic traditions trace the origin of the Paramāras from a fire-pit on Mt. Abu.[1] But according to European and Indian scholars, the Paramāras belonged to the Hūṇa-Gurjara stock.[2] From records of the middle of the 11th century AD, we learn that the fire-pit was the origin of the Paramāras.[3] The Harsola plates, which are about a century older, do not mention this origin, but refers to the descent of Bappairāja (Vākpatirāja) I from the family *(kula)* of the (Rāṣṭrakūṭa), Akālavarṣa (Kṛṣṇa III).[4] But, according to scholars, the Paramāras may have been descended from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings Amoghavarṣa and Akālavarṣa, through a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess.[5]

THE PARAMĀRAS OF LĀṬA AND MĀLAVĀ (MĀLWĀ)

The Paramāras about the middle of the tenth century AD were the feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in Gujarat. The Harsola plates mention that Bappairāja, who, according to other records, was Vākpatirāja I, was the first name in the Paramāra genealogy.[6] The *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* of Padmagupta (alias Parimala) of the first quarter of the 11th century AD refers to his name.[7] It mentions the mythical origin of this personage from the fire-pit of the sage Vasiṣṭha on Mount Arbuda.[8] It says, "When Viśvāmitra forcibly took from Vasiṣṭha his cow the latter created from his fire-altar this hero, and when he had slain his enemies and brought back the cow that sage spoke 'thou wilt become a lord of kings called Paramāra'."[9] We also know that he received the appellation of Paramāra from that sage on account of the delight he took in killing his enemies *(paramārana).*[10] Sometimes the line of Paramāra is referred to as Vahni-vaṃsa.[11] The Padmagupta and Udaipur *praśasti* mention that Upendrarāja, who has been identified by scholars with Kṛṣṇarāja, founded the Paramāra dynasty in the beginning of the ninth century AD.[12] Padmagupta says that Upendra "performed numerous Vedic sacrifices."[13] The Udaipur *praśasti* mentions that the fame of this prince "was proclaimed by the immortals, satisfied by the multitude of all sacrifices,—who was a jewel among the twice-born *(dvija varga-ratna)* and gained high honour of kingship *(tuṅga-nṛpatva-māṇaḥ)* by his valour."[14] According to Bühler, Upendra conquered Mālava (Mālwā) and became its ruler in the beginning of the ninth century AD.[15] But H.C. Ray says that at this time Mālwā was under the control of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Thus it is difficult to accept that he conquered Mālwā.[16] The next three rulers were Vairisiṃha I, Śīyaka I and Vākpatirāja I. According to Bühler, these three rulers ruled within the period *c.* AD 840-920.[17] H.C. Ray places Vākpati between AD 895 to 920. This would help to make him a contemporary of the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Mahīpāla (*c.* AD 914-43) and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Indra III (*c.* AD 915-17).[18] It is very probable that Vakpatirāja (Bappairāja) became the first Rāṣṭrakūṭa governor of Lateśvara-maṇḍala in the reign of Indra III's predecessor Kṛṣṇa II (*c.* AD 888-912).[19] From it we conclude that the former was a more important figure than Vairisiṃha and Śīyaka. Because Padmagupta places his name after Upendrarāja and does not mention Vairisiṃha and Śīyaka.[20] That is why H.C. Ray refers to Vākpatirāja "as the real founder of the importance of the family."[21]

Vairisiṃha II succeeded his father Vākpatirāja. The Udaipur *praśasti* refers to him as Vajratasvāmin and says that by him famous Dhārā was indicated when he slew the crowd of his enemies with the

sharp edge *(dhāra)* of his sword.[22] It seems that Dhārā and portions of Mālwā remained in his possession for some time.[23] He probably ruled between AD 920 and 945, and was a contemporary of the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Mahendrapāla whose Partabgarh inscription belonged to AD 945-46.[24] This record informs us that Gurjara-Pratihāras took the possession of Mandu, Ujjain and the region round Partabgarh and Mandasor. This may help us to form an idea that owing to the heavy pressure of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj, Vairisiṃha in the latter part of his reign left Mālwā and went to Gujarat.[25]

Harṣa, who was also known as Sīyaka II and Siṃhabhaṭa, ascended the throne after his father Vairisiṃha II.[26] The Harsola grant of AD 949 was found in the village of Harsola in the Parantij taluk of Ahmedabad district of Gujarat. It opens with an invocation to Nṛsiṃha (Viṣṇu). It states that Sīyaka "after worshipping Śivanātha gave away the village of Kumbhāroṭaka in the Mohaḍavāsaka-*visaya* to the Nāgar (Brāhmaṇa) Lallopadhyāya of Ānandapura."[27] This grant shows the popularity of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism in the kingdom of Harṣa (Sīyaka II). The Ahmedabad grant of AD 970 was found from a coppersmith at Ahmedabad.[28] The figure of a flying Garuḍa was found in the left hand corner of the plate. Harṣa reigned for about 26 years (AD 948-74). H.C. Ray says, "The title Mahāmaṇḍalika certainly shows that Śīyaka acknowledged the sovereignty of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III though the simultaneous assumption of the title Mahārājādhirāja, may perhaps indicate his semi-independent position."[29]

Harṣa-Sīyaka was succeeded by his son Vākpati II (*c.* AD 974-95).[30] The Dharmapurī (now Indore) grant of AD 975 begins with two invocations of Śrīkaṇṭha (Mahādeva) and Murārī (Viṣṇu). There is a figure of Garuḍa with a snake in the left corner of the second plate Vākpatirāja while residing at Ujjainī gave the *tadāra* named Pipparika on the banks of the Narmadā to the Jñāna-vijñāna-sampanna Vasanta Ācārya, who was the son of Dhanika Paṇḍita. This was signed by Vākpatirāja-deva.[31] This grant shows that Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism flourished to a great extent in the kingdom of the Paramāra ruler Vākpati II. The Narwar grants found at Narwar near Ujjain in Gwalior mention grants of villages to certain Brāhmaṇas by Śrī-Vākpatirāja.[32] The Dharampurī inscription shows that Vākpatirāja assumed a number of titles, viz., Amoghavarṣa, Pṛthvīvallabha and Śrīvallabha which were Rāṣṭrakūṭa titles. H.C. Ray thinks, "This seems to confirm the suspicion of the descent of the Paramāras from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, but also perhaps indicates that Vākpati now considered himself to be the legal successor of Amoghavarṣa-Nṛpatuṅga-Kokkala (Kakka II).

This explains to some extent his persistent and bitter hostility to the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi and his repeated irruptions into Deccan to oust the usurper Tailapa from the possessions of his ancestors."[33] The *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* mentions him as Utpala-rāja.[34] The Nagpur *praśasti* of Naravarman refers to his other name, Muñjarāja.[35] Dhanika's commentary on the *Daśarūpa* describes "the illustrious king Vākpatirāja at one place and the illustrious Muñja in another place."[36] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* says that Vākpati became known as Muñja because "he was picked up as a foundling by Siṃhadanta-bhaṭa (Sīyaka) from the midst of a thicket of Muñja reeds."[37] In Abul Fazl's *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*[38] there is a reference to this story.

Vākpati II was not only a great warrior but was a very powerful and ambitious ruler. The Udaipur *praśati* says that "his lotus feet were coloured by the jewels on the heads of the Karṇāṭas, Lāṭas, Keralas and Colas."[39] He also conquered Yuvarāja, and slaying his generals, as victor, raised on high his sword in Tripurī.[40] This Yuvarāja was the second prince of the Kalacuris of Ḍāhala.[41] Vākpati II attacked Lāṭa because he wanted to recover his ancestral principalities on the western side.[42] But it is difficult to accept that he invaded the Keralas and the Colas. Probably he came into contact with these rulers when he attacked Taila II or Tailapa, the Chālukya king of the Kalyāṇi dynasty. From historical records we also learn that he fought with the Chālukyas of Anahilwād, the Chāhamāṇas of Nadal, the Guhilas of Mewār and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Hathundi.[43] Merutuṅga informs us that Taila II was defeated six times by him in fierce fight.[44] But when Vākpati II-Muñja attacked the latter's capital for the seventh time, the former was defeated, captured and killed in AD 995.[45] From two inscriptions of Vikramāditya VI (*c.* AD 1055-1126) we learn that Muñja was killed by Taila II.[46] The *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* also mentions that Muñja "ended his life in the wars of the Deccan."[47]

Vākpati II was famous for his learning and eloquence, was not only a patron of poets but himself a poet of no small reputation.[48] Padmagupta, the author of the *Navasāhasāṅka-carita,* Dhanañjaya, the author of *Daśarūpa,* his brother Dhanika, the author of *Daśarūpāvaloka, Halāyudha,* the commentator on Piṅgala's work on metrics and probably also Dhanapāla, the author of the *Paiya-lacchi* were the distinguished scholars who used to live in the court of Vākpati Muñja.[49]

After Vākpati II, his son Sindhurāja (*c.* AD 995-1010) ascended the throne. The *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* mentions the latter as Navasāhasāṅka and Kumāranārāyaṇa.[50] The ruler defeated the Hūṇa king and the rulers of Vāgaḍa, Murala, Lāṭa and Kośala.[51] It is difficult to locate the area of the Hūṇa chief. Vāgaḍa was probably modern Dungarpur

state in southern Rājputānā.[52] The Kośala king was probably the Kalacuri ruler Kokkalla II, the son of Yuvarāja II.[53] Murala was located near Kerala.[54]

Bhojadeva (AD 1010-55) succeeded his father Sindhurāja. The Banswara grant of AD 1020[55] was found in southern Rājputānā. It invokes the god Śiva Vyomakeśa, Smarārāti and then gives the genealogy of the Paramāras from Sīyakedeva to Bhojadeva. It says that the latter at the anniversary of the conquest of Konkana gave 100 nivartanas of land at Vatapadraka to the Brahman Bhaila. The Ujjain grant of AD 1022 mentions that Bhojadeva while residing Dhārā granted the village of Vīraṇaka to the Brahman Dhanapati Bhaṭṭa of the Karnāṭa country.[56] The Depālpur grant of AD 1022 says that Bhojadeva having worshipped the Bhavānīpati (Śiva) granted 34 *aṃśas* of level land furnished with 4 ploughs to the Brahman Vacchala. This shows that Bhojadeva was a devout worshipper of the god Śiva. The Kalyan plates of Yaśovarman were found in the north-west of the Nāsik district in Mahārāṣṭra. It states that "in the (village) Muktāpalī in the Auḍrahāḍi-viṣaya, the Sāmanta, the illustrious Rāṇaka Amma of the Gaṅga family, being convinced of the excellence of the Jina-dharma from the teachings of the Śvetāmbara *ācārya* Ammadeva, gave some land at Mahiśa-buddhika, at the holy *tīrtha* of Kalakaleśvara."[57] The donee was the Jina temple in the Śvetāpada (country) which was repaired and was given to the illustrious Muni Suvratadeva.[58] This gives us an idea about the prevalence of Jainism in the Paramāra kingdom during the rule of Bhojadeva. From the statements of the Jaina chronicles we learn that the Chālukya ruler Bhīma I, the Kalacuri ruler Lakṣmī-Karṇa of Ḍāhala and the Chālukya ruler Ahavamalla or Someśvara I of the Kalyāṇī dynasty found a league and fought with Bhojadeva.[59] The latter was defeated and killed by them. Bhojadeva played a very prominent role in the domain of art and letters. V.A. Smith describes, "Like his uncle, he cultivated with equal assiduity the arts of peace and war. Although his fights with the neighbouring powers including one of the Muhammedan armies of Mahmud of Ghazni, are now forgotten, his fame as an enlightened patron of learning and a skilled author remains undimmed, and his name had become proverbial as that of the model king according to Hindu standard. Works on astronomy, architecture, the art of poetry and other subjects are attributed to him and there is no doubt that he was a prince, like Samudragupta of very uncommon ability...."[60] The Udaipur *praśasti* mentions that "he made the world worthy of its name by covering it all round with temples dedicated to Kedāreśvara, Rāmeśvara, Somanātha, Suṃdira (?) Kāla, Anala and Rudra."[61]

From the Mandhāta and Pānahera inscriptions of Jayasiṃha (AD 1055-60) we learn that the latter ascended the throne after his father Bhojadeva. The Mandhāta grant of AD 1055-56 found at the Nimar district of Madhya Pradesh opens with an invocation to Śiva (Vyomakeśa, Smarārāti).[62] It says that Jayasiṃhadeva while residing at Dhārā granted the village of Bhīma to the Brāhmaṇas of the Paṭṭaśālā at the holy Amareśvara for food and other purposes. The Pānahera stone inscription found in the Banswara state of south Rājputānā praises Śiva. These two inscriptions give us a clear idea about the development of Śaivism during the rule of Jayasiṃha.

The next ruler was Udayāditya (*c.* AD 1060-87). An inscription of AD 1059-60 was found at Udayapur in Gwalior says that Udayāditya built a temple of Śiva.[63] The Jhalrapātan stone inscription found in the Jhalawār state in Rājputānā mentions the erection of a temple of Śambhu by the Paṭṭakila (i.e., Paṭil), Jānā in the reign of Udayāditya.[64]

The Nāgpur *praśasti* mentions that Udayāditya's immediate successor was Lakṣmadeva and Naravarman. After Lakṣmadeva, his brother Naravarman (*c.* AD 1097-1111) captured the throne. The Nāgpur *praśasti* of AD 1104-5[65] opens with 'Oṃ Oṃ namo Bhāratyai' and then refers to the 'goddess of speech', Durgā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā and 'that form of the husbands of Umā and Lakṣmī (i.e. Viṣṇu-Śiva or Hari-Hara). The Madhukergadh stone inscription of AD 1108 found at Rājputānā opens with an invocation to Nīlakaṇṭha (Śiva).[66] It states that Hara, the son of Mahādeva and grandson of the minister Rudrāditya constructed a temple of Śiva. The Bombay grant of AD 1110-11 opens with an invocation to Śiva.[67] It refers to the grant of several places of land situated in the village of Kadambapadraka to the Brahman Āśādhara. All these inscriptions throw light on the prosperity of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in the kingdom of Naravarman.

Yaśovarman probably succeeded his father Naravarman sometime before AD 1134. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* says that the Mālwā king Yaśovarman invaded the capital of the Chālukya ruler Jayasiṃha of Gujarat.[68] The latter attacked Dhārā also and captured Yaśovarman. The Jhalrapātan fragmentary inscription of Yaśovarman informs us that the Paramāra king was forced to withdraw down the valley of Kali Sindhu, but anyhow managed to maintain its precarious existence in the lower valley of that river up to AD 1142.[69] The Dohad and Udayapur inscriptions of Jayasiṃha gave us indication that the Chālukyas occupied the whole territory from the Pañch Mahals to the Betwā.[70] All these facts inform us about the destruction of the Paramāra power in Mālwā. H.C. Ray says that, "after losing Ujjain and his other southern dominions Yaśovarman may have lingered on till about vs 1199 (*c.* AD 1142) as the ruler of a small principality in the lower valley of the Kali Sindhu."[71]

Jayavarman I (AD 1192-1200) succeeded his father Yaśovarman. The next ruler was his brother Ajayavarman. He was succeeded by his brother Lakṣmīvarman. Hariścandra who was the son of the latter ascended the throne after him. The Piplianagar grant of AD 1179 was found in the village of Piplianagar in the Shujalpur *pargana* of Bhopal in the Madhya Pradesh. It opens with 'Oṃ Śrī-Gaṇeśāya namaḥ'.[72] Then there are two verses in praise of Śiva (Vyomakeśa and Smarārāti). The inscription says that Hariścandra granted two shares *(aṃśa-dvayam)* of the Palasavādā-grāma to the donee Paṇḍita Daśaratha Śarman. It mentions further that the same donor also made some grants to the Paṇḍita Mālnna Śarman. It informs us that Hariścandra was a devout worshipper of Śiva.

The next ruler was Hariścandra's son Mahākumāra Udayavarman (*c.* AD 1200). The Bhopal grant which belonged to his reign was found at the village of Uljamun in the Śamsgaḍh *pargana* of Bhopal in the Madhya Pradesh.[73] The inscription begins with 'Oṃ Ganeṣāya namaḥ.' There are also two verses in praise of Śiva in it. Udayavarmandeva granted the village of Guṇaura to the Brahman Mūla Śarman. The references to Gaṇeśa and Śiva and the figures of Garuḍa show us that the Brahmanical gods and goddesses occupied important places in the religious history of the kingdom of Udayavarman.

Ajayavarman's son and successor was Vindhyavarman. He probably recovered Dhārā from the hands of the Chālukyas. There is a reference to it in the grants of Arjunavarman and Devapāla.[74] Subhatavarman ascended the throne of Dhārā after his father Vindhyavarman. The former was also known as Subhaṭa and Sohaḍa. The Paramāras became very powerful at that time and wanted to invade the torritory of the Chālukyas. Merutuṅga says that during the rule of Chālukya ruler Bhīma II, "the Mālavā king Sohaḍa advanced to the border of Gujarat, with the intention of devastating the country."[75]

Subhaṭavarman's son and successor was Arjunavarman (*c.* AD 1211-15). The Piplianagar grant of AD 1211 was found in the village of Piplianagar in the Shujālpur *pargana* of Bhopal.[76] It opens with 'Oṃ namaḥ puruṣārtha-cūḍāmaṇaye Dharmāya'. The four verses then praise the moon, the lord of the twice-born, Paraśurāma, Rāma and Yudhiṣṭhira. It records that king Arjunavarman granted the village of Piḍviḍi in the Śakapura-pratijāgaraṇaka to the *purohita* Govinda. The Bhopal grant[77] of AD 1213 mentions that Arjunavarman granted to the priest Govinda a section of buildings belonging to the Daṇḍādhipati in the city of Mahākāla (i.e., Ujjain). It says further that Arjunavarman while residing at Bhroach granted the village of Uttarāyaṇa to the priest Govinda Śarman. Another Bhopal grant of AD 1215[78] mentions that Arjunavarman while resident at the Amareśvara *tīrtha* granted the village of Hathināvara to the *purohita* Paṇḍita Govinda Śarman. He also worshipped Bhavānīpati, Oṃkāra and Lakṣmīpati there.

Devapāla (AD 1218-36) succeeded Arjunavarman. The Harsauda stone inscription of AD 1218 of the reign of Devapāla was found in the village of Harsauda in the district of Hoshangabad in the Madhya Pradesh.[79] It opens with 'Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya' and praises the gods Heramba (Gaṇeśa), Bhāratī (Sarasvatī), Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. It says that on the eastern side of Harṣapura the merchant Keśava constructed a temple of Śambhu together with a tank and also established figures of Hanumat, Kṣetrapāla, Gaṇeśa, Kṛṣṇa, Nakulīśa and Ambikā. The Mandhāta grant of AD 1225 was discovered at Mandhāta in the Nimar district of the Madhya Pradesh.[80] It says that Devapāla while staying at Mahiṣmati (modern Maheśwar) worshipped Śiva and granted the village of Satājunā to the Brahman Gaṅgādhara.

Jaitugideva (AD 1239-43), who was the son and successor of Devapāla, ascended the throne. Āśādhara, the Jaina scholar, used to live in his court. He finished the *Sāgar-dharmāmṛta* in AD 1239 and his *Anagāra-dharmāmṛta* in AD 1243 in his reign. Jayavarman II succeeded his brother Jaitugideva. From epigraphical evidence we learn that the former ruled at Dhārā for about four years (*c.* AD 1256-60). According to some scholars, he was also Jayasiṃha III. He was succeeded by Arjunavarman II. The next ruler was Bhoja II. Then Jayasiṃha IV (AD 1310) ascended the throne. Some scholars think that he was the last ruler of the Paramāra dynasty of Mālavā.

The reign of Arjunavarman (*c.* AD 1211-15) witnessd the decline of the Paramāra power of Mālavā. In the reign of Iltutmish of Delhi (AD 1211-36) the Muslims became very aggressive and destroyed many temples and cities of Mālwā. The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*[81] says that "shortly after the capture of Gwalior, the Sultan in AD 1234 led the hosts of Islam towards Mālwā and took the fortress and town of Bhilsan and demolished the idol temple which took three hundred years in building, and which, in altitude was about one hundred *ells*. From thence he advanced to Ujjain-Nagarī, and the temple of the Mahākāla Diw. The effigy of Bikramajīt who was sovereign of Ujjain-Nagarī, and from whose reign to the present time one thousand, one hundred, and sixteen years have elapsed, and from whose reign they date the Hindu-Ī era, together with other effigies besides his, which were formed of molten brass, together with the stone (idol) of Mahākāla, were carried away to Delhi, the Capital."

Farishta gives the same information and also says that "the temple of Mahākāla was 'formed upon the same plan with that of Soma-

nātha' and that the images conveyed to Delhi were broken at the door of the great mosque."[82]

H.C. Ray thinks that this expedition took place during the reign of Devapāla (c. AD 1218-36).[83] But in AD 1292 "Ala ud-din Khalji, in the reign of his uncle Jalal-ud-din Firuj (AD 1290-96) invaded Mālwā, caputred the town of Bhilsā and brought much plunder to Delhi."[84] In AD 1305 "Ala-ud-din sent his general Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany... with an army to effect the conquest of Mālwā. He was opposed by Koka, the Rājā of Mālwā, with 40,000 Rājpūt horse and 100,000 foot. In the engagement which ensued, Ein-ool-Moolk proved victorious, and reduced the cities of Oojein, Mando, Dharanuggury and Cundery. After these successes, he wrote an account of the same to the king, who, on receiving it, commanded illuminations to be made for seven days throughout the city of Dehly."[85] This shows the end of the rule of the Paramāra power in Mālwā. Koka has not yet been identified with any ruler of the Paramāra dynasty.[86] The Udayapur inscription of Jayasiṃha of AD 1310 gives us indication that the Hindu ruler still maintained its existence in Mālwā even after the defeat of Koka.[87]

D.C. Ganguly states, "the Paramāra kings were devout worshippers of Śiva. The sovereigns who supported this worship by donations include Sīhaka-Harṣa, Vākpati, Bhoja, Jayasiṃha, Arjunavarman, Devapāla and Jayavarman IV. Udayāditya built a temple to Śiva at Udayapura. The god was known under various names such as Śambhu, Śrīkaṇṭha, Bhavānīpati, Amareśvara, Oṃkāra, Mahākāla, Kālakāleśvara, Siddhanātha and Gohadeśvara. Carcika was the favourite goddess of Naravarman, and Devapāla has great reverence for Limbarya. Viśveśvara Śambhu was a resident of the village of Pūrvagrāma in Rāḍha. He migrated to Ḍāhala maṇḍala and established a large number of Śaiva monasteries in the central and southern India in the 13th century AD. Mālwā kings are said to have been his disciples.

The contemporary records tell us that the following gods and goddesses were also held in great veneration by the people:

Durgā	Rādhā	Gaṇeśa
Lakṣmī	Vāgdevī Bhāratī	Loligasvāmī
Bhaṭṭeśvarī	Hanumat	Kṣetrapāla
Vidhyādharī	Ambikā	Nakulīśa

The Four-faced Mārkandeya.

The images of all these deities were bathed and anointed with perfumes and incense.

During the period, Mālavā was one of the chief centres of the Brahmanical religion. The caste-system was at the basis of the Hindu social structure. The Paramāra kings lent their power support to the maintenance of its integrity. Udayāditya and Naravarman declared that their swords were ever ready to protect *varṇa* (caste). There were numerous Hindu monasteries which fostered the study of the religious scriptures....

Side by side with the Brahmanical religion Jainism also flourished in Mālwā, though not with equal vigour. In the early part of the eleventh century AD the great Śvetāmbara teacher, Ammadeva, flourished in Khandesh, in the southern division of the Paramāra kingdom. He preached the doctrines of Jainism, and converted many people to his faith. Numerous Jaina temples were erected in that province, in one of which was installed the image of Munisuvrata. A number of Jaina fanes which were built in the middle of the eleventh century AD, have been discovered at Un, in the Nimār district. This proves that during that period Jainism was not limited to Khandesh, but had extended further east, in the Central Provinces, within the boundaries of the Paramāra dominion.

Jainism also made considerable progress on the north of the Vindhya mountain. Its teachers always tried to assert their influence over the Paramāra kings. The Jaina teachers, Amitagati and Dhaneśvara lived in Mālwā during the reign of Muñja.... The king Naravarman was favourably disposed to the Jaina religion. Samudraghoṣa studied 'Tarka Śāstra' (logic) in Mālwā. Naravarman became greatly inclined to him on account of his vast learning... Subhatavarman was an enemy of the Jaina religion. During his reign, it seems to have received a severe check in Mālwā and Gujarat.... After the accession of Arjunavarman, Jainism again raised its head in Mālwā. Asadhara tells us that the territory of Arjunavarman was full of Jaina *śrāvakas,* and that he himself lived in the city of Nalakaccapura in order to advance the cause of the Jaina faith. Asadhara lived until the middle of the thirteenth century AD, and was patronised by the kings Devapāla and Jaitugi.... Jainism continued to flourish in Mālwā for a long time. During the whole course of the Paramāra rule, though the Jainas spent much effort in an attempt to further the cause of their faith, they never succeeded in attaining predominance over the Brahmanical religion. Merutuṅga tells us that when the flag of the Mahākāla temple was hoisted all those of the Jainas had to be lowered."[88]

GENEALOGY

The Paramāras of Lāṭa a d Mālwā[89]

Paramāra
|
Upendrarāja alias Kṛṣṇarāja
|
Vairisiṃha I
|
Sīyaka I
|
Vākpatirāja I, alias Bappairāja
|
Vairisiṃha II, alias Vajratasvāmin
|
Harṣa alias Sīyaka II

- Vākpati II alias Utpalarāja Muñja, Amoghavarṣa, Pṛthvīvallabha, Śrīvallabha—Mṛṇālavatī
- Sindhurāja alias Navasāhasāṅka
  - Bhojadeva I
    - Jayasiṁha
  - Udayāditya
    - Lakṣmadeva
    - Naravarman
      - Momaladevī
        - Yaśovarman
          - Jayāvarman
          - Ajayavarman
            - Vindhyavarman
              - Subhatavarman
                - Arjunavarman
                  - Mahākumāra Udayavarman
                    - Jaitugideva (Jayasiṃha II ?)
                  - Devapāla
                    - Jayavarman II (Jayasiṃha ?)
                      - Arjuna (Varman) II
                        - Bhoja II ?
                          - Jayasiṃha IV ?
          - Mahākumāra Lakṣmivarman
            - Mahākumāra Hariścandra
    - Syāmaladevī—Guhilaputra Vijayasiṃha
      - Alhanadevī—Dāhala Kalacuri Gayākarṇa

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[2]Ibid.; *TAAR*, I, 112 ff; *ASBC*, II, 254 ff; *AA*, 214-15; *BG*, IX, 481-85; *JBBRAS*, XXI, 428-29.
[3]*DHNI*, II, 841; *RMR*, 1927, 2-3; *NSC*, XI, 64 ff. [4]*DHNI*, II, 841.
[5]Ibid. [6]Ibid., 843. [7]Ibid.
[8]Ibid. [9]Ibid., 844. [10]Ibid., 844.
[11]Ibid. [12]Ibid.; *EHI*, 410. [13]*DHNI*, II, 844.
[14]Ibid., II, 845. [15]Ibid. [16]Ibid.
[17]Ibid., 846. [18]Ibid. [19]Ibid.
[20]Ibid. [21]Ibid. [22]Ibid., 847.
[23]Ibid. [24]Ibid. [25]Ibid.
[26]Ibid. [27]Ibid., II, 848-49; *PTOCIM*, 1924, 303 ff.
[28]*DHNI*, II, 849 [29]Ibid., 850. [30]Ibid., II, 852, 927.
[31]Ibid., 852-53. [32]Ibid., 853. [33]Ibid., 853-54.
[34]Ibid., 854. [35]Ibid. [36]Ibid.
[37]Ibid., *PCMA*, 30. [38]*DHNI*, II, 854; *AA*, II, 215.
[39]*DHNI*, II, 854. [40]Ibid. [41]Ibid., 854-55.
[42]Ibid., 855. [43]Ibid.
[44]Ibid.; *PCMA*, 33; *BG*, I, II, 432. [45]*DHNI*, II, 857.
[46]Ibid. [47]Ibid.; *AA*, II, 216. [48]*EHI*, 410.
[49]Ibid.; *DHNI*, II, 856. [50]*DHNI*, II, 859; *NSC*, VI, 11.
[51]*DHNI*, II, 860. [52]Ibid. [53]Ibid.
[54]Ibid. [55]Ibid., 861-62. [56]Ibid., 862.
[57]Ibid., 863. [58]Ibid., 864. [59]Ibid., 869.
[60]*EHI*, 410-11. [61]*DHNI*, II, 871. [62]Ibid., II, 873-74.
[63]Ibid., 875. [64]Ibid. [65]Ibid., 881.
[66]Ibid. [67]Ibid., 882. [68]Ibid., 883.
[69]Ibid., 884. [70]Ibid. [71]Ibid., 887.
[72]Ibid., 892. [73]Ibid., 892-93. [74]Ibid., 894.
[75]Ibid., 895. [76]Ibid., 896. [77]Ibid., 896-97.
[78]Ibid. [79]Ibid., 900. [80]Ibid., 900-01.

81Ibid., 907; *TNMM*, I, 622-23.
82*DHNI*, II, 907; *TF*, I, 211.
83*DHNI*, II, 907.
84Ibid.
85Ibid., 908; *TF*, I, 303.
86*DHNI*, II, 908.
87Ibid.
88*HPD*, 246-54.
89*DHNI*, II, 927-28.

8. THE CHĀHAMĀNAS OR THE CHĀHUMĀNAS OR THE CHAUHĀNS

From the bardic tradition of the Rājpūts we learn that the Chāhamānas (the Chauhāns)[1] were regarded as one of the four fire-born races (*agni-kula*).[2] H.C. Ray states, "With the founders of the Pratihāras (Parihāras), the Chālukyas (Solaṅkīs) and Paramāras (Pavārs), their founder is said to have sprung from the fire-altar of the sage Vaśiṣṭha on Mount Abu. He is said to have been quadriform (*caturaṅga*), whence his name Chauhan.[3] V.A. Smit says, "A familiar legend appearing in the *Chand Rāisa* and other late documents in variant forms groups together four Rājpūt clans—the Pawār (Paramāra), Parihār (Pratihāra), Chauhān (Chāhumāna) and Solaṅkī or Chālukya—as being *agni-kula* or 'fire-born', originating from a sacrificial fire-pit at Mount Abu in southern Rājputānā. The myth seems to express the historical truths that t e four clans named are related, and all arose in southern Rājputānā; and further, as Crooke justly observes, it 'represents a rite of purgation by fire, the scene of which was in southern Rājputānā, whereby the impurity of the foreigners was removed and they became fitted to enter the Hindu caste system'."[4] Māhiṣmatī on the Narbadā was known as the first seat of the government of 'Anhal, the first created Chauhān'.[5] According to some scholars, the Chāhamānas probably originated from the Upper Ganges-Jumnā valley in the middle of the 12th century AD.[6] But the author of the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* and the *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* mention the rise of the Chāhamānas from the lake Śākambari (Sambhar) which was located on the borders of the Jodhpur and Jaipur states.[7] It is very probable that the Sambhar region was the cradle-land of the tribe.[8] It is said that the earlier Chāhamānas captured Delhi from the Tomaras and killed their ruler.[9] This seems to indicate the beginning of the long rivalry between the earlier Chāhamānas and the Tomara chiefs and in course of time the Chāhamānas established their rule over Delhi. This no doubt gives us indication that the tribe from Sambhar moved towards the Ganges-Jumnā valley.[10] From the bardic tradition and epigraphic evidence we learn that the Chāhamānas were divided into many branches. Among them, the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī was regarded as the most important branch and undoubtedly occupied a prominent place in the political history of India.

THE CHĀHAMĀNAS OF ŚĀKAMBHARĪ, AJMER AND DELHI

From inscriptions we get the genealogy of a long line of the Chāhamāna rulers who governed the principality of Śākambharī (Sāmbhar) in Rājputānā to which Ajmer was attached.[11] Vāsudeva was regarded as the founder of this dynasty.[12] It is difficult to say anything about the exact date of the establishment of the principality of Śākambarī by Vāsudeva. The next ruler was Sāmantarāja. He was also known as Ananta. The Bijolia inscription[13] refers to him as a Vipra and says further that he belonged to the Vatsa-*gotra* at Ahichchhatrapura, which probably was situated near the borders of the Jaipur and Jodhpur states.[14] It seems that Sāmantarāja ruled in the middle of the seventh century AD. But nothing is known about the rulers who ascended the throne between Sāmantarāja and Durlabharāja. Probably, they had inglorious reign and contributed nothing to the political history of their country. The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* says that Govindarāja succeeded his father Durlabharāja I.[15] The Bijolia inscription refers to Guvaka after Durlabha.[16] Some scholars identify the former with Govindarāja.[17] Vigraharāja's Harṣa stone inscription traces his descent to prince Guvaka.[18] According to scholars, these two Guvakas were one and the same person. It is said that Guvaka I was a feudatory chief (*sāmanta rāja*) of the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Nāgavaloka or Nāgabhaṭa II.[19]

The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* and the Harṣa inscription mention Chandrarāja II as the successor of Govindarāja.[20] The Bijolia inscription refers to Śaśinṛpa.[21] It is to be noted here that "the meaning of both the names is the same, 'moon-king'."[22] Guvaka II was his son. The former's son was Chandanarāja. The Harṣa inscription says that a Tomara prince called Rudrena was defeated and killed by him in fierce fight.[23] In the ninth century AD Delhi was ruled by the Tomaras. Taṃvrāvātī and Sekhāvātī were the two divisions of the present Jaipur state.[24] Probably, the Rājpūt tribe Taṃvar and the Tomaras of the inscriptions were the same and Taṃvrāvāṭī is derived from Taṃvar.[25] Thus Rudrena was ruler of this locality and Śākambharī region was not very far from it. H.C. Ray states, "This conflict and the death of Rudrena may then be regarded as the opening act of that grim struggle which in the middle of the 12th century was to extend the arms of the Chāhamānas to the foot-hills of the Himalayas."[26] The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* informs us that Chandanarāja's queen Rudrāni (Ātmaprabhā) established 1,000 *liṅgas* on the banks of Puṣkara, "which shone like lights in darkness."[27] The next ruler was Chandanarāja's son Vākpatirāja who was also called Vappayarāja and Vindhyanṛpati.[28] The Harṣa inscription describes him as Mahārāja.[29]

The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* mentions him as a great warrior and he won 188 victories.[30] He was a devout worshipper of Śiva and at Puṣkara he constructed a temple *(prāsāda)* for Vyomakeśa (Śiva), which looked like a Kailāsa.[31] The next ruler was his son Siṃharāja. The Harṣa inscription[32] refers to him as Mahārājādhirāja and says that he defeated Salavaṇa, the Tomara chief.

The next ruler was Vigraharāja II (AD 973). The Harṣa stone inscription of his reign was found "in the porch of the temple of Purāṇa Mahādeva on a hill near the village Haras, situated in the Sikar principality of the Shekhāvaṭī province, Jaipur state Rājputānā."[33] It opens with 'Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya' and several verses eulogise Śiva, who appears to have given the name Harṣa. It then praises the mansion of the divine Harṣadeva. It mentions a line of ascetics who were in charge of the temple of Harṣanātha, which was constructed by Viśvarūpa's disciple Bhāvirakta alias Allaṭa, of Rāṇapailikā.[34] It also gives a list of endowments offered to the temple. It gives us an idea about the development of Śaivism in the kingdom of the Chāhamānas during the rule of Vigraharāja II. The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*[35] mentions the extension of his kingdom as far south as the Narmadā and Mūlarāja, and Chālukya ruler of the Gujarat, was defeated by him.

Durlabharāja II (AD 999) succeeded his brother Vigraharāja. The Kinsariya stone inscription of Cacca gives an account of his reign.[36] It was found in a temple dedicated to the goddess Kevāyamātā and situated on the summit of a hill in the vicinity of a village named Kinsariyā, 4 miles north of Parbatsār, the principal town of the district of the same name in the Jodhpur state. It is incised on a stone fixed in the wall of the Sabhāmaṇḍapa.[37] It then gives the following genealogy of a line of feudatory princes who traced their descent to the sage Dadhīci and were hence known as Dadhīcikā (also Dahiyaka).[38]

In this race:

Meghanāda
|
Māsaṭā
|
Vairisiṃha
|
Dundā
|
Cacca
|
Yaśaḥpuṣṭa — Uddharaṇa

Cacca built 'this' temple of Bhavānī, no doubt the temple where this inscription was found.[39]

Govindarāja II (Gundu) succeeded his father Durlabharāja II. The *Prabandha-kośa* mentions his victory over Sultan Mahmud.[40] The next ruler was Vākpatirāja II. He was succeeded by his son Vīryārāma. According to the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*, the latter was killed by the Paramāra ruler Bhoja of Avantī (*c.* AD 1010-55).[41] Cāmuṇḍarāja, who was Vīryārāma's younger brother, ascended the throne after him. A temple of Viṣṇu at Narapura[42] was constructed by him.[43] The next ruler was Vīryārāma's son Durlabharāja III. He was also known as Vīrasiṃha. He was killed in battle by the Mātaṅgas, who according to the commentator Jonarāja, were the Mlecchas.[44] H.C. Ray mentions that probably the Yāminīs from the Lahore region invaded his kingdom and killed him in battle.[45] The Bijolia rock inscription refers to him as Dūsala. Vigraharāja III succeeded his brother Durlabharāja III. He was also known as Visala and Viśvala.

The next ruler was Pṛthvīrāja I (AD 1105). The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* describes that about 700 Chālukyas who came to Puṣkara to rob the Brāhmaṇas, were killed by this ruler.[46] He built an *anna-satra* on road to Somanātha.[47] The Revasa stone inscription of the reign of Pṛthvīrāja I dated AD 1105 was discovered in the temple of Jinmātā (Jayantimātā) near Revāsa in the Sambhar Nizāmat in Shekhāvaṭī of the Jaipur state.[48] The goddess was 'an eight-handed Mahiṣāmardinī' inside the temple.[49] The inscription states that one Haṭhada, son of Mohila constructed the temple.

Ajayarāja succeeded his father Pṛthvīrāja I. The former was also known as Salhaṇa. The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* says that he defeated the commander-in-chief of the Paramāra ruler of Mālwā and extended his conquests as far as Ujjain.[50] Ajayarāja's successor was his son Arṇorāja. His Revāsa stone inscriptions of AD 1139 were found in Jaipur State Rājputānā.[51] But from inscriptions we do not know anything about his reign. Arṇorāja was defeated by the Chālukya rulers Jayasiṃha and Kumārapāla. The Dvyāśraya says that Arṇorāja actually brought peace by offering his daughter Jalhaṇā to Kumārapāla.[52]

Arṇorāja's immediate successor was Jugadeva. But soon he was ousted by his younger brother Vigraharāja IV, who was a man of considerable distinction.[53] He was also known as Visāla. The Lohari stone inscription of his reign dated AD 1155 was found on a pillar in the temple of Bhūteśvara near the village of Lohari in the Jahāzpur district of the Udaipur state.[54] It mentions that during the reign of the illustrious Visāladeva, the great Pāśupata priest Viśveśvaraprajña adorned the temple of Siddheśvara with a *maṇḍapa*.[55] The Delhi

Śiwālik Pillar inscriptions contain three short inscriptions.[56] The first belonged to the reign of Śākambharī king Visāladeva. It is dated AD 1164. The second inscription contains a short *praśasti* of king Vigraharāja. The third inscription gives a *praśasti* of Visāla. He not only conquered the whole region from the Vindhyas to the Himalayas but also destroyed repeatedly the power of the Mlecchas. From these inscriptions we learn that the Chāhamāna dominions had spread northwards to the foot-hill of the Himalayas, and perhaps may have included a substantial portion of the Punjab lying between Sutlej and the Jumnā.[57] The Bijolia inscription of Someśvara mentions the conquest of Ḍhillikā and Āśikā by Vigraharāja, and the Śiwālik pillar inscription says that Chāhmāna ruler made Āryāvarta once more the abode of the Āryas by exterminating the Mlecchas.[58] Some inscriptions of the 14th century say that the town of Delhi and the neighbouring region, then known as the 'land of Hariyānaka' were conquered by the Chāhamānas from the Tomaras.[59] In the southwest Vigraharāja extended his power up to the valley of the river Sukri.[60] The Bijolia inscription also says that he reduced Pallikā and Naddūla and burnt the town of Jāvalipura which was modern Jalor in Jodhpur.[61]

The next ruler was Apara-Gāṅgeya. He was succeeded by Pṛthvībhaṭa (Pṛthvīrāja II), the son of the eldest son of Jugadeva. The Menal stone inscription of the reign of Pṛthvībhaṭa was found at Menal in Udaipur state in Rājputānā. It records some endowments made by Mahārājñī Suhavadevī, queen of Pṛthvīrāja II to the god Suhaveśvara.[62] The Dhoḍ stone inscription was found on a pillar in the temple of Rūṭhī Rāṇī at Dhoḍ in the Jahagpur district of Mewār.[63] It is dated AD 1169. It says that during the reign of Pṛthvīdeva, the lord of Śākambharī, his feudatory Adhirāja Kumārapāla erected the temple of Nityapramoditadeva at Dhavagarttā. The Menalgarh pillar inscription was found on a pillar over the northern gateway of a palace in Menalgarh in Mewār. It refers to the erection of a monastery (*maṭha*) by Bhāva Brahma.[64]

The next ruler was Someśvara. The Bijolia rock inscription was found in the village of Bijolia in Mewār.[65] It is Jaina record and begins with salutations to Pārśvanātha and other Jaina gods. It is dated AD 1170 and it belonged to the reign of Someśvara. The Dhoḍ stone inscription was found on a pillar in the Rūṭhī Rāṇī temple at Dhoḍ in Jahāzpur in Mewār.[66] It says that in AD 1171 during the reign of Someśvara, the Karanika Brāhmaṇa Mahantama Cāhada sold his house to the temple of Nityapramoditadeva for 16 *drammas* (coins) of Ajayadeva. Another Dhoḍ stone inscription of AD 1172 records that when Someśvara was ruling at Ajayameru-durgā, Bhaṭṭāraka Prabhā-

sarāśi erected a monastery near the temple of Nityapramoditadeva for the residence of Kāpālika ascetics from foreign countries.[67] The Revāsa stone inscription was found on a pillar in the Sabhā-*maṇḍapa* of the temple of Jin-mātā in the Sambhar Nizāmat of Shekhāvaṭī in Jaipur state. It says that in the reign of Someśvara one Ālhna reconstructed the *maṇḍapa* of the temple.[68]

From the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* we learn that when Someśvara died Pṛthvīrāja was still a minor. So before leaving this world he had appointed the Devī or the queen (Karpūradevī) to protect his son in his childhood.[69] The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* gives an account of the prosperity of the Chāhamāna kingdom during the queen's regency.[70] When Pṛthvīrāja reached the age, he took the charge of the kingdom. At that time he was ably assisted by his two ministers Kādamba Vāsa and Bhuvanaikamalla.

Several inscriptions belonged to the reign of Pṛthvīrāja III were found. The Madanpur stone inscriptions which were three in number were discovered in the large temple of Śiva at Madanpur.[71] They mention the name of Pṛthvīrāja of the Chāhamāna dynasty, who came to the country of King Paramardi. They also described that he conquered the country of Jejāka-Bhukti in AD 1182-83 and give the names of Chandraśekhara Trayambaka and Tripurāntaka. This indicates that the temple where his inscriptions were placed was a Śaiva shrine. The Visālapur stone inscription was discovered on a pillar in the temple of Gokarṇanātha at Visālapur in the Jaipur state.[72] Visāladeva (Vigraharāja IV) founded the temple as well as the town in the reign of Pṛthvīrāja. The object of this inscription is to register some donations to the temple of the god Gokarṇa at Vigrahapura in the Sapādelakṣa country.[73] The Bajta image inscription was found on the pedestal of an image of Gaṇeśa, kept in a niche in a temple of Miām, Mātā, near Bajta in the Estate of Savar in Rājputānā.[74] It mentions that the image was made by one Rājala in AD 1189. The Madanpur inscription of Pṛthvīrāja informs us that Pṛthvīrāja invaded and counquered a large portion of the Chandella territory beyond the Betwā.[75] The *Vyāyoga Pārtha-Parākrama* mentions hostilities between Pṛthvīrāja and the Chāulikya ruler Bhīma II (*c.* AD 1178-1241).[76] The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* says that in AD 1191 Pṛthvīrāja defeated Sultān-i-Ghāzī (Muizz-ud-din) at Tarāin or Talāwari between Thāneśwara and Karnal.[77] But a year later in AD 1192 the Sultan returned with an army of 12000 well-armed horsemen and met Pṛthvīrāja at Tarāin. This time the latter was defeated and was killed by the Muhammedens.[78] This battle practically brought the downfall of the Chāhamānas of the Śākambharī.[79] The *Tāj-ul Mā'āthir* says that after this battle Qutb-ud-din captured Ajmer from Kola who was

Pṛthvīrāja's natural son.[80] They also captured Delhi and Meerut. V.A. Smith gives an account of the conquest of Hindustān by the Muhammedans, he says, "In AD 1193 Delhi fell. Kanauj does not seem to have been molested but must have come under the control of the invaders. Benares, the Holy citadel of Hinduism in AD 1194 became the prize of victors.... The surrender of Gwalior in 1196, the capture in 1197 of Anhilwara, the capital of Gujarat and the capitulation of Kalanjar in 1203 completed the reduction of Upper India."[81] He describes further, "...Pṛthvīrāja, Prithirāj or Rai Pithora, lord of Sambhar and Ajmer, famous in song and story as a chivalrous lover, and doughty champion. His fame as a bold lover rests upon his daring abduction of the not unwilling daughter of Jaichand, the Gaharwār Rājā of Kanauj which occurred in or about AD 1175. His reputation as a general is securely founded upon his defeat of the Chandella rājā, Parmāl and the capture of Mehobā in 1182, as well as upon gallant resistance to the flood of Muhammedan invasion. Indeed, Rai Pithorā may be described with justice as the popular hero of northern India, and his exploits in love and war are the subject of rude epics and bardic lays to this day."[82]

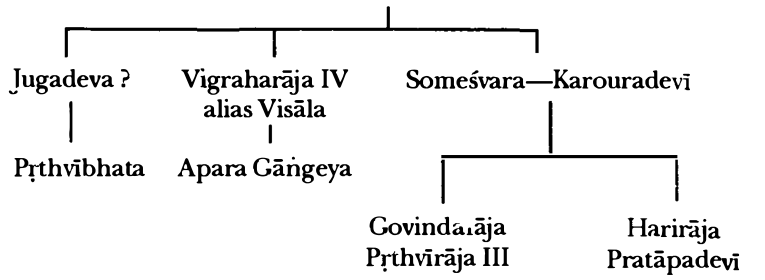
The *Hammīra Mahākāvya* of Nayachandra says that Harirāja succeeded Pṛthvīrāja. The former reigned for sometime and then he was killed by the Muhammadans.[83] The Tamtoti image inscription in latter also gives us indication that Pṛthvīrāja's son who was overthrown by Harirāja was most probably Govindarāja.

GENEALOGY

The Chāhamānas[84]

Vāsudeva
|
Sāmantarāja (Ananta)
|
Pūrṇatalla ?
|
Jayarāja (Ajayapāla and Jayantarāja)
|
Vigraharāja I
|
Candrarāja — Gopendrarāja (Gopendrāja)
|

|
Durlabharāja
|
Govindarāja (Guvaka I)
|
Chandrarāja II (Śaśinṛpa)
|
Guvaka II — Kalāvatī—king of Kanauj
|
Chandanarāja
|
Vākpatirāja I (Vappayarāja)
|
Siṃharāja — Vatsarāja — Lakṣmaṇa
|
Vigraharāja II — Durlabharāja II — Candrarāja — Govindarāja
|
Govindarāja II (Gunḍu)
|
Vākapatirāja II
|
Vīryarāma — Chamuṇḍarāja
|
Durlabharāja III — Vigraharāja III alias Visāla-Rājadevī
|
Pṛthvīrāja I
|
Rasalladeva VI
|
Ajayarāja alias Salhaṇa (Jayarāja, Jayadeva)
|
Arṇorāja
|
Sudhava—Kāñcanadevī
|



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[1]*DHNI*, II, 1052, fn 1—"There are variants of this name—Chāhamāna (*EI*, XI, 70, fn 4); Chāhavāṇa (*ZDMG*, XL, 38 ff); Chāhuvāṇa (*IA*, 1890, 216, fn 5); Chāhumāna (*ASRC*, XXI, 173 ff, no. 99).

[2]*DHNI*, II, 1052. [3]Ibid. [4]*EHI*, 428.
[5]*DHNI*, II, 1052. [6]Ibid., 1054. [7]Ibid.
[8]Ibid. [9]Ibid. [10]Ibid.
[11]*EHI*, 400-401. [12]*DHNI*, II, 1061. [13]Ibid.
[14]Ibid. [15]Ibid., 1062. [16]Ibid.
[17]Ibid. [18]Ibid. [19]Ibid., 1062-63.
[20]Ibid., 1063. [21]Ibid. [22]Ibid., 1063, fn 1.
[23]Ibid., 1063. D.R. Bhandarkar says that he was 'Rudra'—*CA*, 1913, 58, fn 9
[24]*DHNI*, II, 1063. [25]Ibid. [26]Ibid.
[27]Ibid.; *PV*, vv. 37-38; *JRAS*, 1923, 268. [28]*DHNI*, II, 1063.
[29]Ibid. [30]Ibid., 1064. [31]Ibid.
[32]Ibid. [33]Ibid., 1065. [34]Ibid.
[35]Ibid., 1067. [36]Ibid. [37]Ibid., 1067-68.
[38]Ibid., 1068. [39]Ibid. [40]Ibid.
[41]Ibid., 1069.
[42]Ibid., fn 4—"Narwār, situated in Kiśengarh territory at a distance about 15 miles from Ajmer."—*JRAS*, 1913, 272.
[43]*DHNI*, II, 1069; *PV*, v. 68.
[44]*DHNI*, II, 1069.
[45]Ibid. [46]Ibid., 1070. [47]Ibid.
[48]Ibid. [49]Ibid. [50]Ibid., 1171.
[51]Ibid., 1172. [52]Ibid., 1073. [53]Ibid.; *EHI*, 401.
[54]*DHNI*, II, 1076; *RMR*, 1923, 2. [55]*DHNI*, II, 1076.
[56]Ibid. [57]Ibid., 1077. [58]Ibid., 1077.
[59]Ibid. [60]Ibid. [61]Ibid., 1077-78.
[62]Ibid., I, 1079; *ASIWC*, 1906, 59-60, no. 2191.
[63]*DHNI*, II, 1079-80; *RMR*, 1923, 2.
[64]*DHNI*, II, 1080. [65]Ibid., 1081-82. [66]Ibid., 1082.
[67]Ibid. [68]Ibid.; *ASIWC*, 1910, 52. [69]*DHNI*, II, 1083.
[70]Ibid. [71]Ibid., 1084. [72]Ibid.; *RMR*, 1911-12, 2.
[73]*DHNI*, II, 1084; *ASIWC*, 1921, 55-56. [74]*DHNI*, II, 1084.

[75]Ibid., 1085. [76]Ibid. [77]Ibid., 1087; *EHI*, 403.
[78]*DHNI*, II, 1089; *EHI*, 403. [79]*DHNI*, II, 1091.
[80]Ibid. [81]*EHI*, 404. [82]Ibid., 402.
[83]*DHNI*, II, 1093. [84]Ibid., 1137-38.

Chapter 9

Buddhism During the Reign of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa

Śaśāṅka occupied an important place in the history of Bengal. R.C. Majumdar says that he was "the first known king of Bengal who extended his suzerainty over territories far beyond the geographical boundary of that province."[1] Hiuen-tsang mentions Śaśāṅka as the king of Karṇasuvarṇa in eastern India.[2] Soon Śaśāṅka captured North Bengal and extended his political power.[3] He took the tit e of Gauḍādhīpa.[4] R.G. Basak says that "during the sixth and seventh centuries AD the Gauḍa kingdom had its capital at Karṇasuvarṇa, which scholars identify with Rāṅgāmāṭī, a place situated in northern Rāḍhā and on the western bank of the river Bhāgīrathī, near Berhāmpur, and that it included within its boundaries Puṇḍra-vardhana-bhukti (North Bengal), Vaṅga-Samataṭa i.e., South and East Bengal remained, of course, separate political entity. But in the eighth century and probably later, the term Gauḍādhīpa meant that the ruler was not only the king of North and Central Bengal, but had also the appellation of Magadhanātha, Magadha forming a part of the Gauḍa kingdom at that time."[5]

Śaśāṅka's coins inform us that Śaśāṅka was known as Narendrāditya. It seems that he had a second name with an *āditya* title.[6] The *Harṣacarita*[7] says that because of his mean character and cowardice, he could not attain great success in his life.

Śaśāṅka first established himself in Karṇasuvarṇa.[8] But after capturing Puṇḍravardhana in the north, he not only extended his power there but also in some places in south Bihar e.g., Gayā, Rohitāśvagiri (or Rhotās hill) etc.[9] Even Benares in the west came under his control.[10] He also occupied the whole country in the south including Midnapore, upto the province of Koṅgoda which was located in Ganjam district, south of Orissa.[11] From the two Midnapore copperplates of King Śaśāṅka, it is known that he was a great ruler in the east.[12] "Śrī-Śaśāṅka mahīm pati chaturjjaladhi-mekhalām."[13] Thus Śaśāṅka as a great ruler made himself master of

South Rāḍhā (i.e., the Midnapore region) and the Ganjam region in southern Orissa.[14] The Ganjam copperplate of Mahārāja Mahā-sāmanta Mādhavarāja II of the Śilodbhavakula[15] refers to Śaśāṅka as Mahārājādhirāja and it describes that he was then ruling "on the earth encircled by the girdle of waves of the four oceans and containing islands, towns and ports."[16] Thus Śaśāṅka became a great ruler and assumed the imperial epithet Mahārājādhirāja.[17]

After the death of Prabhākaravardhana, the king of Thāneśwara, Śaśāṅka made an alliance with Devagupta, the king of Mālwā, with an idea to overthrow the kingdom of Thāneśwara and to become the ruler of northern India.[18] Soon Rājyavardhana, the son of Prabhākara-vardhana, and the brother of Harṣavardhana, was murdered treacherously by Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa.[19] The former in order to rescue his sister Rājyaśrī went towards Kanauj and defeated Devagupta, the Mālwā king in battle and before he rescued his sister, he was killed by Śaśāṅka in AD 606. Hiuen-tsang says that Rājyavardhana "soon after his accession was treacherously murdered by Śaśāṅka, the wicked king of Karṇasuvarṇa in east India, a persecutor of Buddhism."[20] Śaśāṅka tried to occupy the throne of Thāneśwara but his mission was not successful. He could not capture the throne of Thāneśwara and was not able to establish his supremacy in Kanauj.[21] The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[22] says that "Harṣa defeated Śaśāṅka, the pursuer of wicked deeds, who was forced to remain confined within his own kingdom, and prevented him from moving further towards the west." V.A. Smith states that Śaśāṅka "escaped with little loss" and that "his kingdom became subject to Harṣa at a later date."[23] Most probably, Harṣa in his first campaign against Śaśāṅka could not establish his authority over Gauḍa, i.e., Puṇḍravardhana and Karṇasuvarṇa.[24] But after Śaśāṅka's death which took place between AD 619 and AD 637, Harṣa occupied his enemy's kingdom and established his supremacy there.[25] Harṣa probably took the possession of Śaśāṅka's kingdom during Śaśāṅka's life-time or after his death and then he gave it to Bhāskaravarman of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa.[26] Several scholars think that Harṣa captured Karṇasuvarṇa during Śaśāṅka's life time in his second campaign with the help of his friend Bhāskaravarman.[27] R.G. Basak says, "So with his lofty aspirations Śaśāṅka achieved, in the beginning of his career, some success in establishing an extensive Gauḍa dominion which lasted only 17 years and a few months and days (according to the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* verses no. 748-49). He passed away leaving probably no successor, his own kingdom of Karṇasuvarṇa slipping into the hands of the neighbouring king of Assam. The kings of Assam could not retain it long for we know how Bengal and Magadha gradually grew into a great

empire under the Pāla kings about a century later."[28] R.C. Majumdar describes, "Although sufficient data are not available for forming a correct estimate of the character and achievements of Śaśāṅka, he must be regarded as a great king and a remarkable personality during the first half of the seventh century AD. He was the first historical ruler of Bengal who not only dreamt imperial dreams, but also succeeded in realising them. He laid the foundations of the imperial fabric in the shape of relished hopes and ideals on which the Pālas built at a later age."[29]

Śaśāṅka was a persecutor of Buddhism. The bull-emblem on his coins and Hiuen-tsang's accounts indicate that he was a worshipper of Śiva.[30] The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* refers to him as 'dvijāhavayaḥ', i.e. Brahmanic[31] which suggests that he was a follower of Brahmanism. He was a great enemy of Buddhism and tried his best to destroy it wherever he went for his victorious campaigns.[32] Hiuen-tsang says that "at Kuśīnagara he felt distressed because by Śaśāṅka's extermination of Buddhism, the groups of brethren were all broken up."[33] The pilgrim also mentions that "in recent times King Śaśāṅka, having tried in vain to efface the foot-prints, caused the stone to be thrown into the Ganges."[34] This probably indicates the stone with the foot-prints of the Buddha at Pāṭaliputra. The pilgrim describes further that at Bodh-Gayā "in recent times Śaśāṅka, the enemy and oppressor of Buddhism, cut down the Bodhi tree, destroyed its roots down to the water, and burnt what remained",[35] and that the king had "the image (of Buddha) removed and replaced by one of Śiva."[36] But R.D. Banerjee and R.P. Chanda do not agree with the Chinese pilgrim and they do not believe his statements.[37] R.P. Chanda mentions that "at the root of Śaśāṅka's ill-feeling towards the Buddhists was probably the fact that the Buddhists of these places in Magadha and elsewhere entered into some conspiracy with Harṣavardhana against him, and he therefore wanted to punish them by such oppressive persecution."[38] The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[39] describes, "the person Soma (Śaśāṅka), who will be a heroic king in countries on the bank of the Ganges even up to Benares, will destroy beautiful images of the great teacher (Buddha). Relying on the heretics he will also cause to be burnt many a holy trace (or relic). Then this irascible, greedy, self-sufficient and ill-esteemed man will break down all monasteries, gardens and shrines and also the dwellings of the Nirgranthas on earth, and thus put an obstacle to their religious profession."

R.G. Basak gives us an account of the religious condition of Bengal at the time of Śaśāṅka. He says, "In Bengal, there were both Buddhist monasteries and Brahmanic Deva-temples. The Buddhists in Bengal belonged to both the Hīnayāna (Sammitīya) and the Mahāyāna schools....

North Bengal (Puṇḍravardhana) had a flourishing population with 'tanks, hospices and flowery groves.' ... Besides the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇas there lived in north Bengal many Digambara Nirgranthas (Jainas)....

East Bengal, then called Samataṭa, situated on the sea-side contained adherents of the Sthāvira school of Buddhist monks and Digambara Nirgranthas and also followers of Devas.... As regards Śaśāṅka's own centre of administration in central Bengal, viz., the country of Karṇasuvarṇa it is described as being 'well-inhabited', full of rich people and having a temperate climate. The people were men 'of good character' and 'patrons of learning'. The adherents of Buddhism belonged to the Sammitīya school. They were followers of various other religions with Deva-temples in large number. In three of the Buddhist monasteries of this part of Bengal, milk-products were not taken as food in accordance with the teaching of Devadatta. By the side of the capital city was the Lo-to-mo-ti (Raktāmṛittikā-Rāṅgāmāṭi) monastery which was a magnificent and famous establishment, the resort of illustrious brethren."[40]

REFERENCES

[1]*HB*, I, 59.	[2]*HNEI*, 160.	[3]Ibid., 160.
[4]Ibid.	[5]Ibid., 156-57.	[6]Ibid., 163.
[7]Ibid.	[8]Ibid., 166.	[9]Ibid., 167.
[10]Ibid.	[11]Ibid.	[12]Ibid., 169.
[13]Ibid.	[14]Ibid.	[15]Ibid., 170.
[16]Ibid.	[17]Ibid., 171.	[18]Ibid.
[19]Ibid., 172-73.	[20]Ibid., 183.	[21]Ibid., 184.
[22]Ibid., 186.	[23]Ibid.	[24]Ibid.
[25]Ibid.	[26]Ibid., 187.	[27]Ibid.
[28]Ibid., 188.	[29]*HB*, I, 68.	[30]*HNEI*, 188-89.
[31]Ibid., 189.	[32]Ibid.	[33]Ibid.
[34]Ibid.	[35]Ibid.	[36]Ibid.
[37]Ibid.	[38]Ibid., 190.	[39]Ibid., 190-91.
[40]Ibid., 191-94.		

THE PĀLAS

The Pāla rulers never claimed their descent from any mythical or epic hero. From the Khālimpur plate of Dharmapāla we learn that "the family sprang from Dayitaviṣṇu, who is called Sarva-Vidyāvadāta (sanctified by all sorts of knowledge). His son Vapyata (Bappata) is described as Khaṇḍitārāti; and the latter's son Gopāla was forced to

accept the hands of the Goddess of fortune in order to put an end to the condition of anarchy *(mātsyanyāya)* then prevailing in north-eastern India."[1] In the commentary of the *Rāmacarita* there are references to the Pālas, "who are said to have sprang from the sea."[2] The Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva says that "they are said to have been born in the family of the sun (Vaṃśa Mihirasya)."[3] In the commentary of a Nepal MS of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* Harbhadra refers to Dharmapāla as Rājabhaṭādi-Vaṃśa-patita.[4] The *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* mentions the Pālas as a "Kāyeth family."[5]

Gopāla

For more than a century after Śaśāṅka's death, Bengal was in great trouble and it suffered very much during this period. At that time there was no strong political leader in Bengal. The Khālimpur copperplate of Dharmapāla says that the general body of people *(prakṛti)*, in order to remove anarchy and confusion, requested Gopāla (the son of Śrī Vapyata and the grandson of Dayitaviṣṇu) to ascend the throne of Bengal.[6] Gopāla occupied the throne in AD 750 and founded the Pāla dynasty. This was an important event no doubt in the political as well as in the religious history of Bengal. The new ruler not only removed anarchy but also brought about the end of the state of Mātsyanyāya ("a great fish swallows a small one" or "whenever there is a failure of law of punishment") which existed in Bengal for some time. From Tārānātha's account it is known that Gopāla belonged to a Kṣatriya family near Puṇḍravardhana.[7] According to Tārānātha Gopāla first reigned in Bengal and then brought Magadha under his rule.[8] The Monghyr grant of Devapāla says that Gopāla extended his power up to the sea.[9] After his accession to the throne, Gopāla played a vital role for the progress of Buddhism in his kingdom. The Tibetan tradition refers to Gopāla as the founder of the Odantapura (or Odantapurī) Mahāvihāra near Nālandā.[10] But other traditions mention Dharmapāla and Devapāla as its founder. From Tārānātha's account we learn that several Buddhist scholars flourished during Gopāla's reign. This shows that his reign witnessed the Buddhist activities and the development of Buddhist literature in his kingdom.

Dharmapāla

Dharmapāla, the son of Gopāla, ascended the throne of Bengal in AD 770.[11] From the Khālimpur copperplate it is known that most probably he ruled for at least thirty-two years. He was a powerful ruler no doubt. Shortly after his accession to the throne, he was involved in war with the Pratihāras of Mālwā and Rājputānā and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan. Although he was defeated by both of them, yet he was able to establish his position. In course of time, by his campaigns he became the ruler of nearly the whole of northern India. R.C. Majumdar says, "His career was indeed a remarkable one. He inherited a small kingdom from his father, but his prowess and diplomacy, aided by good fortune, enabled him to establish a vast empire in northern India. He had to fight many battles, and sometimes suffered serious reverses. On more than one occasion his position appeared precarious. But his undaunted spirit triumphed over all obstacles, and he launched Bengal into a career of imperial glory and military renown to which there has been no parallel before or since."[12] He took the imperial titles of Parameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhirāja.

A Tibetan tradition refers to Dharmapāla as a great patron of Buddhism.[13] His seal as well as his title *'Parama-saugata'* indicate that he was a Buddhist. The Khālimpur copperplate of Dharmapāla says, "May the ten powers of Vajrāsana (of Buddha) who has firmly attained, as to fortune, to omniscience (those powers) which cherished by his consort-great compassion, conquer, the regions where many hosts of the Evil one are, seen protecting you."[14] This record of Dharmapāla gives us some Mahāyānic concept of Buddhism. It indicates that Mahāyāna Buddhism developed in the kingdom of Dharmapāla. Dharmapāla was the founder of the Vikramaśīla vihāra in Magadha. In it there were 114 teachers who used to give lessons on different subjects. Among these teachers about 108 were renowned scholars. It had a central library which was surrounded by 107 others. They were enclosed by a boundary wall. It is said that this monastery had the life-size image of the Master, fifty-three smaller temples belonging to the Guhya Tantra and fifty-four ordinary temples.[15] Every month a festival was organised for the discussion of the doctrines and on this occasion gifts were distributed. But some traditions mention Devapāla as its founder.[16] R.C. Majumdar states, "The reference to the vihāra as Śrīmad-Vikramaśīla-deva-mahāvihāra[17] shows us that Vikramaśīla was another name or *biruda* of Dharmapāla (or Devapāla) who founded it."[18] Bu-ston mentions that Dharmapāla was the founder of a monastery at Odāntapurī.[19] But Tārānātha says that Gopāla or Devapāla built it.[20] From a short inscription on some clay seals found in Pahārpur, it is known that Dharmapāla built the Somapurī vihāra.[21] Tārānātha mentions that Dharmapāla built 50 religious schools.[22] It is known that under Dharmapāla's patronage fifty educational institutions for the development of Buddhist studies were established. Here Buddhist scholars used to study Buddhist doctrines. Dharmapāla took keen interest in the study of

the *Prajñāpāramitā*. Because, Tārānātha's account describes that out of fifty, Dharmapāla established thirty-five centres exclusively for the study of the *Prajñāpāramitā*.[23] Dharmapāla patronised Haribhadra and Jñānapāda who were two great Buddhist writers.[24] Tārānātha informs us that Haribhadra and Jñānapāda were his religious teachers. They were well-versed in the *Guhya-samāja* and the *Prajñāpāramitā*. Dharmapāla not only showed his great respect to his preceptors but also played a significant role to popularise the doctrines of the *Prajñāpāramitā* and the *Guhya-samāja* in his kingdom.[25] The Tibetan tradition mentions that Haribhadra stayed at the Traikūṭaka Mahāvihāra and wrote the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*.[26] Dharmapāla gave his help to Buddhist scholars, writers and philosophers to contribute something to the progress and development of the Buddhist literary world. Under his encouragement, guidance and inspiration Buddhist scholars made valuable contributions and produced many literary works. His reign also witnessed the development of Buddhist art. Bītpālo (Vitapāla) and Dhīmān[27] were two famous artists in Bengal. They became very well-known for their skill as painters, sculptors and bronze-founders. They used to live in Nālandā. They introduced a new style in sculpture and painting which became famous in the artistic world. This trend of style became very popular and in course of time it became known as the Pāla school of art. This school developed under the patronage of Dharmapāla. R.C. Majumdar states, "It reflects great credit upon the emperor, that amid his pre-occupations with war and politics he could devote his thought and activities to these pious and peaceful pursuits."[28] It is to be noted here that Dharmapāla was a devout Buddhist no doubt but, even then, he showed his tolerant attitude towards Brahmanism. He gave lands for the worship of a Brahmanical god and followed strictly the rules of caste as mentioned in the scriptures.[29] The Bodh-Gayā stone inscription of his reign was found in the south of the Mahābodhi temple at Bodh-Gayā. It refers to the installation at Mahābodhi of a four-faced (image) of Mahādeva and the construction of a Puṣkariṇī by Keśava, who was the son of the sculptor Ujjvala in the 26th year of King Dharmapāla.[30]

Devapāla

Devapāla, the son of Dharmapāla, ascended the throne in AD 810.[31] He was regarded "as a worthy son of a worthy father." Some inscriptions mention that Devapāla's empire extended from the Himalayas in the north to Rameśvara Setubandha in the south. He assumed the imperial titles Parameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhirāja.[32] He also engaged in wars with the Prāgjyotiṣas,

Utkalas, Hūṇas, Gurjaras and Drāviḍas.[33] It is said that under his rule the Pāla empire reached the zenith of its glory and Buddhism occupied an important place in the religious world of the Pāla kingdom. The Nālandā copperplate of Devapāladeva says that in the latter's reign king Bālaputradeva of the Śailendra dynasty of Jāvā, Sumātra and Malay Archipelago sent an ambassador in his court. At the request of the ambassador Devapāla granted five villages Nandivāmaka, Maṇi-vāyaka, Nayikā, Hasti and Pālāmava for a monastery built at Nālandā by King Bālaputradeva. "Devapāladeva did it for the increase of merit and fame of his parents and himself, for the sake of income towards the Blessed Lord Buddha for various comforts of the monks and for writing the *Dharmaratnas* or Buddhist texts, and for the upkeep of the monastery built at Nālandā at the instance of the king of Suvarṇadvīpa."[34] Devapāladeva was a devout Buddhist. He was a great patron of the Nālandā monastery.[35] The Ghoṣrava inscription[36] opens in praise of the Buddha (Vajrāsana). It describes that Vīradeva was a renowned Buddhist monk-scholar who belonged to Nagarahāra near Jalālābād in Afghanistan. He became the President or Head of the Nālandā monastery. Devapāla worshipped him and showed his great devotion to him. Many Buddhist images and relics dedicated by the common people were found. This indicates the prosperity of Buddhism in Magadha and Bengal during the rule of Devapāladeva. The Monghyr copperplate of Devapāla begins with praise of the Buddha. It says, "Mahārājādhirāja the illustrious Devapāladeva, who meditated on the feet of ... the devout worshipper of Sugata."[37] This plate also informs us that he showed his great tolerations to other religions. He gave the village of Meṣika to a Brahmin named Bhaṭṭa Vihekaratamiśra in his 33rd regnal year.

Devapāla's successors were weak rulers and contributed nothing to the political and religious history of India. R.C. Majumdar says, "The glory and brilliance of the Pāla empire did not long survive the death of Devapāla. The rule of his successors ... was marked by a steady process of decline and disintegration which reduced the Pālas almost to an insignificant political power in north India."[38]

Śūrapāla

Śūrapāla ascended the throne after Devapāla. The Bādal Pillar inscription of Bhaṭṭa Gurava Miśra (Gurava's father, Kedāramiśra worked under Śūrapāla) and a copperplate found at Mirzāpur, U.P. refer to Śūrapāla as the immediate successor of Devapāla.[39] The Mirzāpur copperplate mentions that Śūrapāla was the son and successor of Devapāla. His mother was Bhāvadevī, who was a daughter of King Durlabharāja.[40] But Vigrahapāla I was the son of Jayapāla,

who was Devapāla's younger cousin. From it we conclude that Śūrapāla's cousin was Vigrahapāla I. Most probably, Śūrapāla was succeeded by Vigrahapāla I and after latter's reign, Nārāyaṇapāla, his son, ascended the throne. It seems that both Śūrapāla and Vigrahapāla I did not rule for a very long time. They came to the throne for a very brief period.

There is a reference to Śūrapālaas Paramasaugata in the Mirzāpur copperplate. He also had usual royal titles. The epithet Paramasaugata and the Buddhist *dharmacakra* antelope symbol suggest that he was a devotee of Buddhism. The Mirzāpur copperplate mentions that King Śūrapāla from Mudgagiri at the request of queen Mahādevī Maheśobhaṭṭārikā gave some villages in Śrī-nagara-bhukti (Patna) as donation to the Śaivācāryas of Banares. The Bādal Pillar inscription says that when Kedāramiśra performed the sacrificial ceremonies (i.e., the Homa ceremonies). Śūrapāla came to attend it and for the welfare of his people and his empire he poured holy water over his own head. Although Śūrapāla was a follower of Buddhism, yet he showed his tolerant policy and allowed other religions to develop in his kingdom. Two other records of the reign of Śūrapāla were found in Bihar.[41] There are two inscriptions on the pedestal of two images of the Buddha. They say that Pūrṇadāsa, a Buddhist monk of Sindin the 3rd regnal year of Śūrapāla established these images.

Vigrahapāla ruled for a very short period. Nārāyaṇapāla took the throne after him. But no record refers to the development of Buddhism in his kingdom. Thus from any record we do not know anything about the progress of Buddhism under his patronage. But we presume that he followed the religious policy of his predecessors. From an inscription it is known that Dharmamitra who belonged to Andhra was a Buddhist monk. He in the 9th regnal year of Nārāyaṇapāla installed an image of the Buddha in Magadha.[42] The Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla found in Bhāgalpur in Bihar opens in praise of Lokanātha Daśabala (Buddha).[43]

Nārāyaṇapāla's successor was Rājyapāla. He took the throne in AD 908. Four image inscriptions were found at Kurkihar (near Patna). They describe the names of individuals, who in order to attain religious merit, installed Buddhist images. They are:

(i) gift of the image by one named Narasiṃha Caturvedin, a Vedic Brāhmaṇa, who became a disciple of the Sthāvira Vairocanasiṃha in the 28th year of the king Rājyapāla.

(ii) Image installed by Mūlakā, wife of Mahiāru, a resident of Āpaṇakā monastery in the 31st regnal year of Rājyapāla.

(iii) The image containing Buddhist inscription, belonging to the 32nd year of Rājyapāla.

(iv) Inscribed image donated by Gaukā, the second wife of Goamālahina of Āpaṇakā monastery.[44]

This shows the prosperity of Buddhism during the rule of Rājyapāla. But Brahmanism also became very popular in his kingdom. The Bhāturiyastone inscription describes that Rājyapāla gave one hundred Purāṇas and the revenue of the village named Madhuśrava to the temple of Śiva.[45]

After Rājyapāla's death, his son Gopāla II ascended the throne of the Pāla kingdom. Buddhism flourished in the reign of Gopāla II. An inscription on the pedestal of a Buddha statue was found at Bodh-Gayā.[46] It refers to the consecration of the Buddha image (muni) by a person named Dharmabhīma who describes himself as Sindhudbhava (native of Sindhu) and also as Śakrasena when Gopāla II was on the throne of the Pāla empire. The colophon of the Manuscript *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* describes—"Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Parama-Saugata Mahārājādhirāja Śrīmad-Gopāladeva pravarddhamāna-Kalyāṇa vijayarājye tyādisaṃvat 15 Āśvainadine 4 Śrīmad-Vikramaśīladevavihāre likhiteyaṃ."[47] It indicates that the Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra flourished under the patronage of Gopāla II. It also informs us further that the religious texts like the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* were written there during his reign. But it does not say anything about his role for the development of Buddhism in his kingdom. A palm-leaf manuscript of the Maitreya Vyākaraṇa bears the date year 57 of Gopāladeva's reign. It refers to the life of Maitreya, the future Buddha and his teachings.[48]

Vigrahapāla II ascended the throne after Gopāla II. He was a weak ruler. He was extremely busy with his political activities. Due to the political crisis he could not devote his time to the development of Buddhism. A manuscript of the Pañcarakṣa,[49] the Kurikhar images and some terracottas[50] of the reign of Vigrahapāla II were found. It is difficult to say anything about Vigrahapāla II's role for Buddhism.

Mahīpāla I ascended the throne of the Pāla kingdom after Vigrahapāla II. He was an able ruler. He brought the political stability of his kingdom. He expelled the Kāmboja-Pālas, who, during the later part of the tenth century AD occupied some part of the Pāla empire and established a kingdom in West and North Bengal (i.e. Rāḍhā-Varendrī) and mentioned their chiefs as kings.[51] V.A. Smith states, "Of all the Pāla kings he (Mahīpāla) is the best remembered, and says in his honour, which used to be sung in many parts of Bengal until recent times, are still to be heard in remote corners of Orissa and

Kuch Bihar."[52] Rājendra, the Cola king of Kāñcī, attacked his kingdom.

During the rule of Mahīpāla I Buddhism flourished to a great extent in his kingdom. Mahīpāla I was a follower of Buddhism. He played a significant role for its prosperity. The Sārnāth inscription of Saṃvat 1083 (AD 1026) opens with 'Oṃ namo Buddhāya'. It mentions that Mahīpāla I requested his two brothers, Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla to repair and to construct different religious buildings at Sārnāth.[53] His two brothers repaired the Dharmarājika, the Dharmacakra, i.e, the place where the first sermon was preached by the Buddha and also constructed a "new *gandha-kuṭī* (shrine) made of stone", i.e., the Buddha's temple.[54] We are told that the king's two brothers most probably repaired the Dhamek Stūpa at Sārnāth.[55] The Nālandā stone inscription[56] of the 11th regnal year of Mahīpāla I mentions that Bālāditya, who was a follower of Mahāyānism and was resident of Tailādhaka, repaired the Nālandā monastery during the reign of Mahīpāla I.[57] The Tibetan tradition refers to the flourishing condition of the Somapurī monastery during his reign.[58] K.N. Dikshit says, "The prosperity of the establishment was reflected in a wholesale renovation of the main temple and in the monastic cells where a number of ornamental pedestals seem to have been installed and at the shrine of Tārā in the Satyapir Bhita numerous votive stūpas were constructed."[59]

A stone inscription of monk named Vipulaśrīmitra was found at Nālandā.[60] It mentions that Karuṇāmiśra, who was a Vajrācārya, used to live in the Somapurī monastery. The Bodh-Gayā stone image inscription on the pedestal of a Buddha image informs us that Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahīpāladeva in the 11th year of his reign erected the image of the Buddha in the Bhūmisparśa *mudrā* and he gave two *gandha-kūṭis* along with it.[61] It is learnt that one manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* was written in the 5th year of the reign of Mahīpāla I. It describes—"Parameśvara Parmabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śrīman Mahīpāladeva pravardhamāna vijayarājye 65 aśvini-kṛṣṇe ...."[62] This manuscript is now at the library of the Cambridge University, Cambridge.[63] Another manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* was written in Mahīpāla I's 6th regnal year.[64] From the Tibetan tradition[65] we learn that king Mahīpāla I not only showed his great reverence to Prajñāpālita, the monk-scholar, but requested him to stay at the Otsayana Cūḍāmaṇi monastery near Jyālaguhā in the south of Magadha. The reign of Mahīpāla I witnessed the development of Tāntric Buddhism.[66] Tārānātha gives us the name of several *ācāryas* who wrote commentaries on the *Guhya-samāja* and other Tantras.[67] He mentions further that these *ācāryas* played their

prominent roles for the progress of the Tantra in Magadha. V.A. Smith states that Mahīpāla I's reign witnessed the religious intercourse between Tibet and Magadha.[68] Dharmapāla and several other monks went to Tibet from Magadha at the invitation of the former country and tried to popularise Buddhism there.[69] Mahīpāla I showed his liberal attitude towards other religions. It is known from two records of his reign that Brahmanism prospered in his kingdom under his patronage. The Belwā land grant[70] which belonged to his 5th regnal year and the Bangarh or Bangad grant[71] of the 9th year of his reign refer to his important role for the prosperity of Brahmanism in his kingdom. The Bangad inscription mentions that Mahīpāladeva in the name of Lord Buddha after bathing in the Ganges gave to the Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭaputra Kṛṣṇāditya Śarman the village of Kuraṭapallikā in the Gokulika-maṇḍala in the Koṭivarṣa-viṣaya in the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti.[72]

Nayapāla, who was the son of Mahīpāla I, ascended the throne of the Pāla kingdom after his father. The former's reign was an important period no doubt for Buddhism. It prospered in the Pāla kingdom under his great patronage. During his reign the Vikramaśīla and the Somapurī monasteries became very famous. Monks not only from different parts of India but also from Tibet used to come to these monasteries to study there under the guidance of teachers.[73] It is known that one Lochab from Tibet resided in these monasteries and wrote Buddhist texts, copied the Buddhist manuscripts and translated them into the Tibetan language.[74] During Nayapāla's reign, a Buddhist mission under the leadership of Atiśa went to Tibet from Magadha and they not only popularised Buddhism there but also played their vital part for the re-establishment of Tibetan Buddhism.[75] These Indian monk-scholars with the help of local scholars translated many Buddhist texts in Tibetan.[76] Many copied manuscripts of the reign of Mahīpāla and Nayapāla were sent not only to Nepal but several Buddhist texts were also despatched to Japan.[77] This shows that the eleventh century AD was an age of great devotional activity and Magadha was regarded as its important centre. Thus the reign of Mahīpāla I and Nayapāla were important no doubt in the history of Buddhism. This period witnessed the rise and development of Tāntricism. Buddhism saw a great change in its doctrines and philosophy and it turned more and more towards Tāntricism. It is to be noted here that Tāntric gods and goddesses not only began to appear in Buddhism but soon they were accepted in Buddhism and were regarded as incarnations of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.[78]

A manuscript of the *Pañcarakṣā*[79] describes that the queen Uddākā who was a great devotee *(paramopāsikā)* took keen interest to write it and it was written in the 14th regnal year of Paramasaugata Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śrīman-Nayapāladeva and the queen bore all expenses. We are told that Nayapāla accepted Atīśa-Dipaṅkara as his spiritual teacher[80] and used to rule the country according to the latter's advice. We learn from Tibetan sources that Lakṣmī-Karṇa, the Tripurī Kalacuri king of Cedī, attacked the Pāla kingdom and destroyed several temples of the Nālandā monastery but it was the interference of Atīśa peace was established between the two kings.[81] The Karanbel stone inscription of Jayasiṃhadeva, the great grandson of Lakṣmī-Karṇa says that the latter "was waited upon by Gauḍa and other princes."[82] The Bheraghāṭ inscription of Alhanadevī, the queen of Gayā-Karṇa, the grandson of Lakṣmī-Karṇa, gives us information that "when the latter gave full play to his heroism, the Vaṅga trembled with Kaliṅga."[83] From the Tibetan tradition we learn that failing to capture the city, Lakṣmī-Karṇa's troops sacked some of the sacred Buddhist institutions and killed altogether five (men), out of whom four were ordained monks and one *upāsaka*. At this time the celebrated Buddhist monk Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna (also called Atīśa) who had accepted the post of High Priest of Vikramaśīla at the request of Nayapāla, was in residence at the vihāra of Mahābodhi at Vajrāsana. When a good deal of church-furniture was carried as booty, Atīśa showed no concern or anger. But afterwards when victory turned towards (Nayapāla) and the troops of Karṇa were being slaughtered by the armies of Magadha, he took the king of Karṇa and his men under his protection and sent them away. Atīśa then caused a treaty to be concluded between two kings. "...Unmindful of his health even at the risk of his life, Atīśa again and again crossed the rivers that lay between the two kingdoms and thereby brought peace to all living beings."[84]

Vigrahapāla III, who was the son and successor of Nayapāla, took the throne of the Pāla kingdom and defeated Lakṣmī-Karṇa of Cedī.[85] No records refers to his contribution to Buddhism. From an inscription on the pedestal of the image of the Buddha we learn that one Suvarṇakara Dehaka in the 13th regnal year of King Vigrahapāla III installed the image of the Buddha.[86] This no doubt gives us an idea about the popularity of Buddhism in the Pāla Kingdom. Brahmanism also prospered during the reign of Vigrahapāla III. Two land grants were found at Belwā[87] and Amgachi.[88] They say that Vigrahapāla III did these land-grants for the benefit of individual Brāhmaṇas.[89] The Gayā stone inscription refers to the construction of two temples by Viśvarūpa Viśvāditya for Śiva.[90]

Vigrahapāla III had three sons. They were Mahīpāla II, Śūrapāla II and Rāmapāla. Mahīpāla II ascended the throne of the Pāla kingdom. But when he became king, he at once imprisoned his two brothers and did not rule the country properly.[91] Taking the opportunity of this internal trouble, Divya or Divyoka, the chief of the Cāsi-Kaivarta tribe or Māhiṣya caste, which at that time became very powerful in northern Bengal, revolted against King Mahīpāla II.[92] The latter died at the hands of the rebels who captured the country. Divya's nephew was Bhīma. He declared himself as king of Varendra.[93] In the meantime Rāmapāla escaped from prison and travelled from one place to another in order to get help to re-capture the throne and to recover the Pāla kingdom.[94] Rāmapāla took the help of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who were related by marriage and came with a huge force and defeated Bhīma who was also killed. Rāmapāla then was able to occupy the throne of the Pāla kingdom.[95] V.A. Smith says, "Rāmapāla is described by Tārānātha as possessing a vigorous understanding and widely extended power."[96] He conquered Utkala, Kaliṅga and Kāmarupa.

Rāmapāla was a devout Buddhist. The *Rāmacarita* (IV, 1-3) of Sandhyākaranandī mentions that Rāmāvatī was the capital of Rāmapāla.[97] Here lived many Buddhist monks. This place had also an image of Avalokiteśvara. The *Rāmacarita* says that the Jagaddala vihāra was erected by Rāmapāla.[98] From Tārānātha's account we learn that Ācārya Abhayakaragupta became the head of the Vajrāsana (Bodh-Gayā) as well as the head of the Vikramaśīla and Nālandā monasteries under the patronage of Rāmapāla who just after his accession to the throne took the initiative to appoint him.[99] Ācārya Ratnākarasānti-pa was another renowned figure of Buddhism.[100] He lived during the reign of Rāmapāla.

It is to be noted here that Buddhism declined in many places of India. But it prospered in the Pāla dominions under the patronage of Rāmapāla.[101] During this period the monasteries of Magadha were crowded with thousands of Buddhist monks. An image of Tārā was installed at the ancient Uddaṇḍapura fortress in the second year of Rāmapāla's reign.[102] Grahaṇakuṇḍa, who belonged to Nālandā, copied the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* in the 15th regnal year of Rāmapāla.[103] A merchant named Sādhu-Saharaṇa of the village called Etraha within Rājagṛha installed the image of the Bodhisattva in the 42nd year of Rāmapāla's reign.[104] Thus Rāmapāla's reign marked the revival of the greatness of the Pālas and it opened a new era of peace and prosperity.[105] He like his predecessors showed his great tolerant policy towards other religions. Although he was a Buddhist, yet he committed suicide by drowning himself in the

Ganges after offering his wealth to the Brāhmaṇas in order to occupy a place in heaven.[106] This also indicates his great faith in the Brahmanical religion

Tārānātha and several Bengal authors mention āmapāla as the last ruler of the Pāla dynasty. V.A. Smith says, "Tārānātha and certain Bengal authors treat Rāmapāla as the last of his dynasty, or at any rate, the last who exercised considerable power, but the inscriptions prove that he was followed by five kings of his family."[107] It is quite true that he was the last powerful king of the Pāla dynasty. Kumārapāla, who was āmapāla's eldest son, ascended the throne of the Pāla kingdom after his father's death. The next king was Gopāla III, who was former's son. Madanapāla, the second son of āmapāla, then took the throne. Govindapāla occupied the throne of the Pāla kingdom after Madanapāla. The last ruler was Palapāla.[108] But his name has not been accepted by scholars.[109] Alexander Cunningham found his name in a record unearthed at Jaynagar.[110] V.A. Smith states that tradition mentions the ruler of Magadha at the time of the Muhammedan conquest at the end of the 12th century AD was Indradyumna (-pāla).[111] "Forts attributed to him are still pointed out in the Mungir (Monghyr) district."[112]

A copy of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* was written in the Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra in the 15th regnal year of Gopāla III.[113] King Madanapāla issued the Manahalī (in the Dinajpur district) grant with the Dharmacakra seal in his 8th regnal year.[114] It opens with the words "Oṃ namo Buddhāya." A broken Buddhist statue with an inscription on its pedestal was found in a village named Valguda in the Monghyr district. This image was installled in the 18th regnal year of Madanapāla.[115] It also gives the Śaka year 1083.[116] Another Buddhist image with an inscription on its pedestal was found in Jayanagar near Lakṣisarai in north Bihar refers to its installation in the 19th year of the reign of Madanapāla.[117] His reign was also important for literary activities in his kingdom. Some Buddhist manuscripts were copied during his reign.[118] It indicates that King Madanapāla took keen interest in it. A text of *Pañcarakṣā* was also copied in the 17th year of his reign.[119]

Thus from the above facts we conclude that Buddhism prospered in the Pāla kingdom. Most of the Pāla kings were zealous Buddhists and bestowed liberal patronage on learned teachers and the numerous monastic communities. From records it is not possible for us to get a clear picture of Buddhism during the rule of some members of the Pāla dynasty. But the discovery of the Buddhist images and the writing of several Buddhist texts suggest that Buddhism continued to flourish in the dominions of the Pāla kings though nothing is known

from any source about the contribution of some of its rulers to its prosperity. The Pāla kings also played a prominent role in the political history of ancient Ind'a. V.A. Smith says, "The Pāla dynasty deserves remembrance as one of the most remarkable of Indian dynasties. No other royal line in an important kingdom, save that of the Andhras, endured so long, for four and a half centuries. Dharmapāla and Devapāla succeeded in making Bengal one of the great powers of India, and, although later kings had not the control of realms so wide or possessed influence so extensive, their dominion was far from being contemptible.... The Pālas seem to have half Magadha or South Bihar, and Mungir in North Bihar, almost throughout to the end, with little interruption, but during the last century of their rule they lost nearly the whole of Bengal to the Senas."[120]

GENEALOGY

The Pālas[121]

Dayitaviṣṇu
Vapyata
Gopāla (AD 750)
Dharmapāla (AD 770)
Devapāla (AD 810)
Śūrapāla I (AD 850)
Vigrahapāla I (AD 856)
Nārāyaṇapāla (AD 856)
ājyapāla (AD 910)
Gopāla II (AD 942)
Vigrahapāla II (AD 960)
Mahīpāla I (AD 988)
Nayapāla (AD 1038)
Vigrahapāla III (AD 1054-1055)
Mahīpāla II (AD 1072)
Śūrapāla II (AD 1075)
āmapala (AD 1077)
Kumārapāla (AD 1130)
Gopāla III (AD 1140)
Madanapāla (AD 1144)
Govindapāla (AD 1158)
Palapāla

REFERENCES

[1] *DHNI*, I, 282. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., 282-83.
[4] Ibid., 283. [5] Ibid.; *MASB*, III, I, 20-21; *AA*, II, 145.
[6] *HB*, I, 97. [7] Ibid., I, 102. [8] *DHNI*, I, 284.
[9] Ibid. [10] *HB*, I, 257. [11] *HB*, I, 104.
[12] Ibid., I, 113. [13] Ibid., I, 115. [14] *EI*, IV, 243.
[15] *BAB*, 30. [16] *CTBN*, III, 321-22. [17] *SBLN*, 229.
[18] *HB*, I, 115. [19] *BHB*, 157. [20] *TGBI*, 206.
[21] *HB*, I, 115; *MASI*, no. 55—In terracotta seals there is a reference to this inscription—"Srī Dharmapāladeva-Mahāvihāriya-Ārya-Bhikṣusaṃgha"—*BAB*, 55, fn 15.
[22] *TGBI*, 217. [23] *BAB*, 30. [24] *BHB*, 156 ff; *BAB*, 31.
[25] *HBI*, 274-75. [26] *BAB*, 31. [27] Ibid., 31; *EHI*, 417.
[28] *HB*, I, 115. [29] Ibid., 116. [30] *DHNI*, I, 288; *GL*, 29 ff.
[31] *HB*, I, 116. [32] Ibid. [33] Ibid., 117.
[34] Ibid., I, 121; *DHNI*, I, 294-95; *ASICC*, 1920-21, 37 ff.
[35] *HB*, I, 121. [36] Ibid., 122; *IA*, XVII, 307; *GL*, 45; *ASIAR*, 1920-21, 35.
[37] *DHNI*, I, 293-94; *GL*, 33; *EI*, XVIII, 304. [38] *HB*, I, 125.
[39] *BAB*, 36. [40] Ibid., 36-37; *JASBNS*, XIII, 1971, 201 ff.
[41] *BAB*, 37; *JASBNS*, IV, 108; *JRASBL*, IV, 390. [42] *MASB*, V, 62.
[43] *IA*, XV, 304 ff. [44] *JBORS*, XXVI, 246 ff; *BAB*, 38-39.
[45] *EI*, XXXIII, 150-54; *IHQ*, XXXI, 215-31.
[46] *JASBNS*, 1908, IV, 102-5; *GL*, 86 ff. [47] *JRASGBI*, 1910, 150-51.
[48] *DHNI*, I, 306; *JBORS*, 1928, 490 ff; *DCSM*, I, 14-15.
[49] *CBSMULC*, 232; *JRASBL*, 1910, 151.
[50] *JBORS*, XXVI, no. 4, 36-37. [51] *EHI*, 414; *BAB*, 36.
[52] *EHI*, 414. [53] *PB*, 75; *IA*, 1885, XIV, 139-40.
[54] *PB*, 75; *BAB*, 41. [55] *BAB*, 41; *IA*, XIV, 139; *JASB*, 1906, 45; *GL*, 104.
[56] *ASIR*, XXI, 113. [57] *GL*, 102; *JASB*, IV, 106. [58] *BAB*, 41.
[59] Ibid.; *MASI*, no. 55, 5-6. [60] *EI*, XXI, 97-101.
[61] *BAB*, 42; *ASRC*, III, 122; *MASB*, V, 75.
[62] *BAB*, 56, fn 41; *CBSMULC*, 100-101; *DHNI*, I, 311.
[63] *BAB*, 42. [64] *DHNI*, I, 312; *DCSM*, I, 1-2.
[65] *UBI*, 284-88; *BAB*, 42. [66] *BAB*, 42.
[67] *HBI*, 284-88. [68] *EHI*, 415. [69] Ibid.
[70] *EI*, XXIX, 1-9; *BAB*, 42; *JASB*, LXI, 1, 77-87. [71] *EI*, 42.
[72] *DHNI*, I, 312; *JASB*, LXI, I, 77-87. [73] *BAB*, 42-43.
[74] Ibid., 43. [75] *EHI*, 415. [76] *BAB*, 43.
[77] Ibid. [78] Ibid.
[79] *CBSMULC*, 175; *BAB*, 44; *DHNI*, I, 324-25. [80] *AT*, 19, fn 18; *BAB*, 44.
[81] *JBTS*, 9-10. [82] *DHNI*, I, 326; *IA*, XVIII, 217, l. 11.
[83] *DHNI*, I, 326; *EI*, II, 11, v. 12.
[84] *DHNI*, I, 326-27; *JBTS*, I, 1893, 9-10, fn 9; *IPLS*, 51.
[85] *EHI*, 415. [86] *PB*, 112; *MASB*, V, no. 3, 112.
[87] *EI*, XXIX, 5-6. [88] Ibid., XV, 293-301.
[89] *AR*, IX, 434-38; *BAB*, 45; *IA*, XXI, 1892, 97-101.
[90] *DHNI*, I, 328; *ASRC*, III, 121-22, no. 7. [91] *EHI*, 416.
[92] Ibid. [93] Ibid. [94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid. [96] Ibid., 416.

[97] Rāmāvatī has not yet been identified. *BAB*, 46; *MASB*, I, III, 1-56.
[98] *EHI*, 46. [99] *HBI*, 313-14. [100] *BAB*, 46.
[101] *EHI*, 416. [102] *BAB*, 46; *ASI*, III, 124; *JASBNS*, IV, 108-9.
[103] *BAB*, 46; *BLOC*, II, 250, no. 1428; *JASB*, 100.
[104] *BAB*, 46; *PB*, 93-84; *ASIR*, IX, 160. [105] *HB*, I, 166-67.
[106] *BAB*, 47. [107] *EHI*, 416. [108] *BAB*, 48.
[109] *HB*, I, 160. [110] *ASIR*, pl. XIV, no. 33; *JBORS*, 1918, 496 ff.
[111] *EHI*, 417. [112] Ibid.
[113] *JASB*, 1910, 150-51; *BAB*, 47.
[114] *JASB*, 1900, 66-73; *BAB*, 47; *GL*, 147-58; *DHNI*, I, 351.
[115] *BAB*, 47; *EI*, XXVIII, 145 ff. [116] *BAB*, 47.
[117] Ibid. [118] Ibid., 47 ff; *JBORS*, XXI, 35, 42-43.
[119] *BAB*, XXI, 1935, 42-43. [120] *EHI*, 417.
[121] *HB*, I, 176-77; *BAB*, 28.

SEVERAL MINOR DYNASTIES OF BENGAL

THREE RULERS OF SAMATAṬA[1]

Gopachandra, Dharmāditya and Samācāradeva, the three independent kings with the imperial title of Mahārājādhirāja, ruled in eastern Bengal.[2] From six inscriptions,[3] five copperplate grants discovered in the Faridpur district in East Bengal (now Bangladesh), and another at Mallasarul in the Burdwan district in West Bengal as well as the discovery of coins,[4] we learn the names of these three rulers.[5] N.K. Bhattasali and R.G. Basak think that they were closely related to each other and probably they established a dynasty which ruled in eastern India after the Guptas.[6] It is very probable that they, as independent rulers, reigned in Samataṭa only and with the help of governors they not only exercised their powers in its different parts but also governed their reigns efficiently.[7] They also had several feudatory chiefs under them.[8] Several scholars state that just after the downfall of the Imperial Guptas and the break-up of their dominion towards the second half of the sixth century AD, these rulers declared their independence in eastern India and with the help of the governors and district officers who were working under them they not only ruled Puṇḍravardhana and Karṇasuvarṇa but different parts of Bengal also came under their rule.[9] Probably, they ruled from a place which was located either in eastern Dacca or northern Tippera district.[10] The Varakamaṇḍala which comprised the districts of Farīdpur and Jessore became an integral part of their kingdom.[11] R.G. Basak says that these three rulers during the last quarter of the 6th century AD reigned in succession when the last three or four later Gupta rulers occupied the throne of Magadha.[12]

From two inscription of Gopachandra it is known that the king ruled for 18 years.[13] The next ruler was Mahārājādhirāja Dharmāditya.[14] After him Samācāradeva took the throne.[15] He became known as Mahārājādhirāja. He reigned for several years. Because one copperplate grant was issued in his 14th regnal year. The bull-standard of coins of Samācāradeva suggests that he was a worshipper of Śiva.[16] It is very probable that Śaivism flourished in the kingdom of these three rulers. No record refers to the prevalence of Buddhism there.

GENEALOGY

Three Rulers of Samatata[17]

Gopachandra
Dharmāditya
Samācāradeva

REFERENCES

[1]East Bengal. [2]*HNEI*, 229.

[3]Ibid., 229, fn 10. "These are: (a) Grant of Gopachandra, year 3; (b) Second Grant of the same king, year 18; (c) Grant of Dharmāditya, year 3; (d) Second Grant of the same king; (e) Grant of Samācāradeva, year 7; and (f) Second Grant of the same king, year 14. A seal of Samācāradeva has been found at Nālandā."—*MASI*, no. 66, 31; *EI*, XVIII, 155; XXX, 161-63; *IA*, XXXIX, 1910; *JASB*, VI, 429; *JASBNS*, VII, 476; *EI*, XVIII, 74 ff; *SAMSJV*, III, 485 ff.

[4]*HNEI*, 236; *EI*, XVIII, 79-80; *JASBNS*, XXI, 20 ff; *CCIM*, 1906, I, 120; *CCBM*, 149.

[5]*HNEI*, 230. [6]Ibid. [7]Ibid.
[8]Ibid. [9]Ibid., 230-31. [10]Ibid., 231.
[11]Ibid. [12]Ibid., 232. [13]Ibid., 233.
[14]Ibid., 234. [15]Ibid., 236. [16]Ibid., 237.
[17]Ibid., 230-37.

THE RĀTA DYNASTY

The Kailan copperplate refers to the Rāta dynasty.[1] This copperplate grant was found at a village called Kailan of the Tippera district.[2] King Śrī-dhāraṇa-Rāta issued this copperplate grant in the 8th year of the administration of Samataṭa at a place called Devaparāvata.[3] In it there is a reference to him as Samataṭeśvara, the ruler of Samataṭa.[4] His father's name was Jīvadhāraṇarāta-bhaṭṭāraka, who was also known as Smataṭeśvara.[5] His mother was Bandhudevī.[6] This first verse of the copperplate grant invoked Hari, the god, which

suggests that the Rāta rulers were worshippers of Lord Viṣṇu and they were Vaiṣṇava in religious faith.[7] Śrīdhāraṇa-Rāta in line 13 of the copperplate grant described himself as Parama-Vaiṣṇava.[8] R.G. Basak states, "This Prāptapañca-mahāśabda ruler of Śamataṭa, Śrīdāraṇa-Rāta-deva, was approached by his Mahāsandhi-vigrahādhikṛta (the Chief Minister of Peace and War). Jayanātha, through the crown-prince Yuvarāja-prāptapañcamahāśabda Baladhāraṇa-rāta-bhaṭṭāraka, praying for the grant of 25 *pāṭakas* of land situated in two *viṣayas* named Guptināṭana and Paṭalāyika which he desired for some sacred purposes. He wanted to be favoured by the king with the grant of the land to him, so that he might himself make a division of the granted *pāṭakas* of land between two different kinds of religiously worshipped objects. The first purpose was to provide for the garlands, incense, light and unguents for the great merciful and all knowing lord Tathāgata (Buddha). His second purpose was to meet the expenses for the study and recitation of the Dharma of which the way was taught by the Lord, and his third purpose was again to provide the various requisites such as robes and food-lumps and other materials for the noble *Saṃgha*. The applicant minister Jayanātha's fourth purpose was to make a distribution of certain portions of the granted land to Senegal (name and number of them mentioned along with the shares allotted to them). Brāhmaṇas, versed in lores, for performing the five *mahāyajñas*. The king Śrīdhāraṇa granted the prayer of Jayanātha to whom 25 *pāṭakas* of demarcated land were given. The rulers of the Rāta dynasty of Samataṭa cherished the spirit of religious toleration which prevailed among most of the rulers of different states during all periods of Indian history. This copperplate serves as an example of that kind of toleration as we find Śrīdhāraṇa granting land simultaneously for the purpose of worshipping the Buddhist *triratna* and also for the maintenance of sacrifices by learned Brāhmaṇas, Jayanātha wanted to perform this relgious act for the enhancement of the merit of his own parents and his sons and grandsons and also for (all beings of) the world."[9]

GENEALOGY

The Rāta Rulers[10]

Jīvadhāraṇa-Rāta-Bhaṭṭāraka
Śrīdhāraṇa-Rāta

REFERENCES

[1]*HNEI*, 248.	[2]Ibid.	[3]Ibid., 249-50.
[4]Ibid., 249.	[5]Ibid.	[6]Ibid.
[7]Ibid.	[8]Ibid.	[9]Ibid., 249-50.
[10]Ibid.		

THE NĀTHA DYNASTY

R.G. Basak gives us the names of several rulers with the surname Nātha of a dynasty of East Bengal.[1] This dynasty came to power in East Bengal between Harṣa's death and the rise of the Khaḍga dynasty.[2] Probably, these rulers acknowledged the lord-paramountcy, either of the East Bengal rulers of the Farīdpur grants or that of the later Gupta dynasty of Magadha.[3] The copperplate grant of Lokanātha found in the district of Tippera mentions the name of a dynasty which ruled in some part of East Bengal and showed its allegiance to some imperial rulers.[4] This grant refers to Lokanātha as a feudatory chief, "a sāmanta with the Kumarāmātya title."[5] R.G. Basak says, "The seal attached to this plate, bears on the obverse a figure of the goddess Lakṣmī or Śrī in relief, standing on a lotus with two elephants on her two sides sprinkling her with water from two ears lifted by their trunks, the reverse bearing a full-blown lotus."[6] On palaeographic ground this copperplate may be assigned to AD 650, i.e., three or four years after Harṣavardhana's death.[7] The copper-plate says that the first ruler of the Nātha dynasty belonged to the good family of the sage Bharadvāja and was famous king, and had the right to assume the title of 'adhimahārāja' or 'mahārājādhirāja'.[8] The second ruler of this dynasty was Śrīnātha.[9] He was a great warrior. R.G. Basak describes, "This king repelled all misfortunes of the state through the delegates in possession of his own supremacy and displayed all attainable feats on earth."[10] His son was Bhavanātha who was a religious person.[11] He had "the one thought as to how to cross the waters of the ocean of existence."[12] He gave up his kingdom in favour of his brother's son,[13] whose name is not mentioned in the copper-plate grant of Lokanātha. The next king was Lokanātha, the donor of the grant.[14] It is not clear whether he was Bhavanātha's son or his brother's son. Because Bhavanātha asked his brother's son to take the charge of administration to became the ruler in his place and he became a sage (*ṛṣi*). This suggests that Bhavanātha had no children and Lokanātha was Bhavanātha's brother's son.[15] Lokanātha was a Karaṇa by caste. His mother was Gotrādevī who was a daughter of Keśava.[16] The latter was a Pārāśava by caste and was in charge of the army of King Lokanātha's father. Although the grant refers to Keśava, the father of Lokanātha's mother as Pārāśava, but the grant mentions the great-grand-father and grand-father of his mother as Dvijavara and Dvijasattama respectively.[17] This indicates that the *anuloma* form of marriage existed in Hindu society in the seventh century in East Bengal. Lokanātha had a good reputation as a ruler "whose soldiers depended for victory chiefly on their own swords and on the intellect of his ministers."[18] Lokanātha was a feudatory chief just a few years after Harṣavardhana's death.[19] R.G. Basak thinks that under Ādityasena of Magadha he was a feudatory chief in East Bengal.[20]

From Lokanātha's copperplate grant we do not know anything about the prevalence of Buddhism in East Bengal. Lokanātha's ancestors were devout worshippers of Śaṅkara, i.e., they were Śaivas in religion.[21] His Brāhmaṇa officer was Pradoṣaśarman. He established an image of Anantanārāyaṇa.[22] This indicates the prevalence of Brahmanic religion in this part of Bengal when the Nātha dynasty ruled there.

GENEALOGY

The Nātha Dynasty[23]

The first ruler—no name is mentioned
Śrīnātha
Bhavanātha
a Brother's son
Lokanātha

REFERENCES

[1]*HNEI*, 238.	[2]Ibid., 241, 238.	[3]Ibid.
[4]Ibid.	[5]Ibid.	[6]Ibid., 239.
[7]Ibid.	[8]Ibid., 241.	[9]Ibid.
[10]Ibid.	[11]Ibid.	[12]Ibid.
[13]Ibid., 242.	[14]Ibid.	[15]Ibid.
[16]Ibid.	[17]Ibid.	[18]Ibid., 243.
[19]Ibid., 245.	[20]Ibid.	[21]Ibid., 247.
[22]Ibid.	[23]Ibid., 238-47.	

THE KHAḌGA DYNASTY

The Ashrafpur grants and the Deulbari bronze image inscription refer to the kings of the Khaḍga dynasty.[1] They were no doubt local

rulers of Samataṭa and most probably, they accepted the lord-paramountcy and suzerainty of the last three or four rulers of the later Gupta dynasty of Magadha.[2] R.G. Basak says, "In our opinion the Khaḍga dynasty of four rulers reigned during the last three quarters of the seventh century AD, and must not have lived long beyond the first quarters of the eighth century; and they ruled in East Bengal, contemporaneously with the last three or four rulers of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha, ruling from about AD 650 to 730."[3]

The Khaḍga dynasty began its rule in East Bengal just after the death of Harṣa and before the establishment of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, i.e., the period between AD 650 to AD 750.[4] From the palaeography of the Ashrafpur and Deulbari inscriptions and the Chinese evidence, R.C. Majumdar opines that the Khaḍga dynasty was not only able to establish its supremacy but maintained its authority in East Bengal almost immediately after the rule of Harṣavardhana.[5] Two copperplate grants found along with a bronze *caitya* in Ashrafpur about 30 miles north-east of Dacca and about 5 miles from the Śital-Lakhya river and the Sarvani image inscription of queen Prabhāvatī found also in or near a village called Deulbari situated about 14 miles south of Comilla in the district of Tippera give us an account of the Khaḍga rulers.[6] N.K. Bhattasali says that these Khaḍga inscriptions do not belong to a date posterior to the beginning of the 8th century AD.[7] But G.M. Laskar and R.D. Banerji think that this dynasty flourished in eastern Bengal in later period.[8]

From several inscriptions we known the names of four rulers of the Khaḍga dynasty. They were Khaḍgodyama, his son Jātakhaḍga and his son Devakhaḍga. Rājarāja or Rājarājabhaṭṭa was the son of Devakhaḍga.[9] The latter issued both his copperplate grants at Karmāntavāsaka and Pūradāsa, a Buddhist writer, wrote them.[10] The opening verses of both the plates invoke the Buddha. The second plate describes that Khaḍgodyama, the Khaḍga ruler, became successful in his conquest on earth after he showed his great devotion towards Sugata (the Buddha), the *Dharma* and the *Saṃgha*.[11] This shows that he was a devotee of the Buddha. The Sarvāṇī image inscription refers to Khaḍgodyama as overlord of rulers *(nṛpadhirāja)*. R.C. Majumdar tries to connect these Khaḍgas with Khaḍgis, who flourished in the 14th century AD.[12] R.C. Majumdar says, "this dynasty of the Khaḍgas came to eastern Bengal in the train of the Tibetans and the Nepalese during the troublesome days that followed the death of Harṣavardhana."[13] R.G. Basak mentions, "In the absence of definite evidence regarding this point, we should hold this view of the learned Doctor as tentative, and think that the surname Khaḍga may have represented an indigenous Kṣatriya family of East Bengal, and is not an outlandish name."[14] Jātakhaḍga, who was the son of Khaḍgodyama, was the second king of the Khaḍga dynasty. He was a powerful ruler and had to fight many battles against his enemies. He annihilated them "by means of his prowess, just as wind destroys a straw and an elephant a number of horses."[15] The next king was Devakhaḍga. He was the son of Jātakhaḍga. He was a maker of donations *(dānapātiḥ)*, majestic *(pratāpī)*, and possessed a sword which could subdue his foes *(jitarikhaḍgaḥ)*."[16] He enjoyed a very peaceful reign.

From the two copperplate grants found at Ashrafpur we learn that the rulers of the Khaḍga dynasty were devout Buddhists. The donee in both these plates were Saṅghamitra, the famous Buddhist teacher and his monastery.[17] King Devakhaḍga for the longevity of his son Rājarājabhaṭṭa or Rājarāja, did the first gift. He gave lands to Saṅghamitra and his monastery.[18] The second plate refers to this grant. It says that the pious prince made it "for the sake of *ratna-traya* (the Buddhist triad), in order to destroy 'the fears of three *bhavas*'."[19] The grant also mentions four monastic institutions *(vihāra-vihātrika-catushtaya)*[20] which indicates the development of Buddhism in East Bengal at such an early period. From Plate A it is known that Prabhāvatī, the chief queen, under her possession had some land which was given by King Devakhaḍga to the Buddhist monasteries.[21] The second plate describes Bṛhatparameśvara (the overlord) and one Udīrṇakhaḍga, the first disposers of some land to other donees.[22] But Rājarājabhaṭṭa, the heir-apparent again gave it as gifts.[23] The Sarvāṇī image inscription refers to these kings mentioned above. It also describes that Mahādevī Prabhāvatī, the queen-consort of king Devakhaḍga, out of devotion made the image of Sarvāṇī, the goddess, with gold.[24] This eight-armed image of Sarvāṇī was a goddess of the Brahmanic religion. This indicates the liberal attitude and the tolerant policy of queen Prabhāvatī and king Devakhaḍga. Seng-chi, the Chinese pilgrim, came to Samataṭa in the 7th century AD.[25] He says, "The king of that country named Rājabhaṭa *(patu)*, ... greatly reverenced the three objects of worship, and devoted himself to his religious duties."[26] This Rājabhaṭa of Seng-chi was Rājarāja, who was Devakhaḍga's son. There is a reference to him as Rājarājabhaṭṭa in Plate A, which describes "by whom, the destroyer of the fears of the three bhavas, the gift of his own land was given to the triad."[27] It is very probable that Devakhaḍga and his son Rājarājabhaṭṭa reigned towards the end of the seventh century AD and the latter also lived sometime in the first quarter of the eighth century AD. Thus the Khaḍga rulers were great patrons of Buddhism. Hiuen-tsang and Seng-chi found the flourishing condition of Buddhism in Samataṭa during the rule of the Khaḍga dynasty.

Genealogy

The Khadga rulers[28]

Khaḍgodyama
Jātakhaḍga
Devakhaḍga
Rājarāja or Rājarājabhaṭṭa or Rājabhaṭa

References

[1]*MASB*, I, 85-91; *EI*, XVII, 357 ff. [2]*HNEI*, 237-38.
[3]Ibid., 238. [4]Ibid., 252. [5]Ibid., 253.
[6]Ibid. [7]Ibid. [8]Ibid., 253-54.
[9]Ibid., 254. [10]Ibid. [11]Ibid., 255.
[12]Ibid. [13]Ibid. [14]Ibid.
[15]Ibid. [16]Ibid., 256. [17]Ibid.
[18]Ibid., 256-57. [19]Ibid., 257. The Buddha, the *Dharma* and the *Saṃgha*.
[20]Ibid., 257. [21]Ibid. [22]Ibid.
[23]Ibid. [24]Ibid. [25]Ibid., 258.
[26]Ibid., Hwui Li, XL-XLI.
[27]Ibid., 258. The Buddha, the *Dharma* and the *Saṃgha*. "*dattam ratnatrayaya tribhava-bhaya-bhida yena dānam svabhūmeḥ.*"
[28]Ibid., 254; *DHNI*, I, 384.

The Kamboja-Pāla Dynasty (*c.* AD 911-992)

The Kambojas belonged to a well-known tribe in North-Western Frontier.[1] It is very probable that the Kambojas of Bengal originated from this tribe.[2] According to R.P. Chandra, Kamboja was Tibet and he says further that the Kamboja invaders came from Tibet or the neighbouring hilly region.[3] The Pag Sam Jon Zang, the Tibetan chronicle, refers to a country called Kam-po-tsa (Kamboja) which was situated between the upper and eastern Lushai Hill regions lying between Burma and Bengal.[4] H.C. Ray thinks that the Kambojas arrived in Bengal from this eastern region.[5] N. Vasu says that Kamboja was Cambay in the Bombay Presidency.[6] J.C. Ghosh supports it.[7] B.R. Chatterjee mentions that the Kamboja invaders came from Kamboja-deśa, modern Cambodia in Indo-China.[8]

The Kamboja-Pālas established a kingdom in the tenth century AD. From the epithet "Kamboja-vaṃśa-tilakaḥ" "the ornament of the Kamboja family" several scholars conclude that there existed an independent royal dynasty.[9] Like the Pāla rulers, the name of its rulers ended with Pāla. It is very possible that the kingdom comprised

some portions of north and western Bengal which was under the control of the Pāla dynasty.

The Irda copperplate of Rājyapāla with the emblem of Dharmacakra flanked by deer on both sides refers to Rājyapāla, the father of Nayapāla as Parama-saugata.[10] This shows that the rulers of this dynasty were followers of Buddhism and like the Pāla rulers, they played their important roles for the progress of Buddhism in their kingdom.

References

[1]*HB*, I, 191.
[2]Ibid.; *EI*, XXII, 153; *IHQ*, XV, 511; *DHNI*, I, 311, fn 1; *DUS*, I, II, 131.
[3]*HB*, I, 191; *GRM*, 37. [4]*HB*, I, 191.
[5]Ibid.; *IHQ*, XV, 511; *DHNI*, I, 309, fn 2. [6]*HB*, I, 191; *VJI*, 172.
[7]*HB*, I, 191; *EI*, XXIV, 45. [8]*HB*, I, 191; *ICIC*, 278-79.
[9]*HB*, I, 191; *BAB*, 54. [10]*BAB*, 54.

The Harikela Kingdom under Kāntideva

The Pālas gradually lost control over East and South Bengal. There are definite evidences to show that several independent kingdoms existed in these parts of Bengal. From an incomplete draft of a copperplate grant discovered in an old temple at Chittagong[1] of the 9th century AD, it is known that the kingdom of Harikela was the earliest one. It was ruled by a Buddhist king Mahārājādhirāja Kāntideva.[2] This grant refers to three names: Bhadradattta, Dhanadatta and Kāntideva.[3] It also mentions Kāntideva as Paramasaugata Parameśvara and Mahārājādhirāja.[4] This grant was announced from Vardhamānapura in Harikela which was most probably the capital of Kāntideva.[5] I-tsing thinks that Harikela was the eastern limit of eastern India.[6] But some other Chinese authority refers to it in the coastland between Samataṭa and Orissa.[7] R.C. Majumdar says, "If Vardhamānapura is to be identified with Burdwan, as no other city of that name in Bengal is known to us, the latter interpretation of Harikela, which is also supported by Indian sources,[8] would be preferable. Kāntideva's kingdom would thus comprise a portion of South and West Bengal."[9]

N.K. Bhattasali identifies Vardhamānapura with Vikramapura.[10] D.C. Sircar locates it in Sylhet.[11] Kāntideva, who belonged to a very ordinary family, was the founder of the kingdom. His wife was Vindurati, the daughter of a great king.[12] This no doubt helped him

to establish an independent kingdom. Most probably, he ruled during the period AD 850-950.[13] It seems that Kāntideva came to power in Bengal just after the death of Devapāla, whose successors were all weak-rulers. Taking advantage of it, he established an independent kingdom in eastern Bengal. Gradually, he extended his power over southern Bengal and even a part of western Bengal.[14] Kāntideva was a follower of Buddhism.

REFERENCES

[1]*EI*, XXVI, 313 ff. [2]*HB*, I, 134; *MR*, 1922, 612. [3]*BAB*, 48.
[4]Ibid., 48. [5]*HB*, I, 134.
[6]Ibid., I, 134; Takakusu, XLVI. [7]Ibid., I, 134.
[8]Ibid., 134, fn 5—"Harikela is mentioned in Hemacandra's *Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi* (V. 257) as a synonym of Vaṅga."
[9]Ibid., I, 134-35; *EI*, XXVI, 35. [10]*IHQ*, II, 312-25.
[11]*JRASBL*, XVII, 90. [12]*HB*, I, 135. [13]Ibid.
[14]Ibid.

THE CHANDRAS OF TĀRANĀTHA'S ACCOUNT

From Tāranātha's account we learn that before the Pālas, the Chandra dynasty ruled in Bengal[1] and the names of all the kings of this dynasty ended in Chandra.[2] We mention here the name of King Vṛkṣachandra whose successors were king Vigamachandra and his son king Kāmachandra. They reigned in the east during the rule of Harṣavardhana.[3] Then came King Siṃhachandra, who flourished when Śīla, son of Harṣavardhana was on the throne.[4] Bālachandra, son of Siṃhachandra, reigned in Tirahuti (i.e., Trihut in north Bihar).[5] Because he was driven from Bengal by king Pañcama Siṃha of the Licchavi family.[6] But Vimalachandra, son of Bālachandra, was a powerful ruler. The three kingdoms—Bengal, Kāmarūpa and Tirahuti came under his rule.[7] He married a princess of the royal family. His son was Govindachandra. He ascended the throne when Dharmakīrti, the famous Buddhist teacher, died.[8] He was a professor in Nālandā when Hiuen-tsang came there. This suggests that Govindachandra reigned in the last quarter of the seventh century AD.[9] His successor was Lalitachandra. He reigned for several years. It is very probably that his death and the end of the Chandra dynasty took place in AD 725.[10] R.C. Majumdar says, "Then followed the period of anarchy during which Bhangala was without a king for good many years. If we assign twenty-five years to this period, the accession of

Gopāla may be placed about the middle of the eighth century AD. This fairly agrees with the chronology of the Pāla kings which has been derived from independent date."[11]

It is to be noted here that no reliable source corroborates Tāranātha's Chandra kings. R.C. Majumdar says, "But it, may be noted in this connection that inscriptions, coins and Burmese chronicles testify to the rule of a long line of kings, with names ending in Chandra, in the Ārākan region as early as the seventh century AD and perhaps even earlier."[12]

The Bhārellā inscription of Layahachandra, found in a village in the district of Tippera, refers to Layahachandradeva as king of eastern Bengal.[13] The inscription mentions that Kusumadeva's son Bhāvudeva, consecrated the image of Nateśa Śiva in the 18th regnal year of Layahachandra. N. K. Bhattasali says that there is a reference to Kusumadeva as Karmāntapāla.[14] From it he concludes that Kusumadeva, who was a vassal prince, was a ruler of Karmānta,[15] which has been identified by N.K. Bhattasali with the place now known as Baḍkāmtā, about three miles to the south-west of the village in the district of Tippera.[16] Most probably Layahachandra ruled over the territory round about modern Comilla from the tenth to the eleventh century AD.[17]

REFERENCES

[1]*HB*, I, 182. Tāranātha refers to it as Bhaṅgala. [2]Ibid., 182.
[3]Ibid. [4]Ibid., 183. [5]Ibid.
[6]Ibid. [7]Ibid. [8]Ibid.
[9]Ibid., 186. [10]Ibid., 186-87. [11]Ibid., 187.
[12]Ibid., 192, fn 2: "The traditional account of the nine Chandra kings of Arakan ruling from AD 788 to 957 as preserved in the later chronicles, is given by Phayre (*History of Burma*, 45) and (Phayre, 'Coins of Arakan, of Pegu, and of Burma', *Numismata Orientalia*, 28-29, 43).... The names of a eighteen royal predecessors of Ānandachandra are given in an inscription. The first king is Bālachandra, a name also occurring in Tāranātha's account. According to Hīrānanda Śāstrī, the oldest inscription is written in characters resembling those of the late Gupta script. The inscription recording the names of the Chandra kings, mentioned above, is said to be "many centuries older" than the temple which was built in the 16th century AD. The name Pṛtichandra is found both on the coins as well as in the inscriptions. The name read by Phayre on the coin as 'Vāmmachandra' is clearly Dhammachandra. The other name that can be read on the coins in Vīrachandra. The alphabets on these coins are to be referred to the seventh or eighth century AD, if not earlier."
[13]*EI*, XVII, 349 ff. [14]*HB*, I, 193.
[15]Ibid., 193, fn 1—R.G. Basak refers to 'Karmānta' as 'store of grain.' Probably, Kusumadeva was an officer-in-charge of it. (*EI*, XVII, 351). In Gupta inscription, no. 80 (*CII*, III, 289) we find this sense of the word Karmmāntadeva.

[16]Ibid., I, 193. [17]Ibid.

THE CHANDRA DYNASTY

Pūrṇachandra was the founder of the Chandra dynasty. He was a ruler of Rohitagiri which has been identified with Rohtāsgarh in the Shāhabād district in Bihar.[1] N.K. Bhattasali says that Rohitagiri may be a Sanskritised form of Lal-māṭi and mentions that it was the Lalmai hills near Comilla.[2] There is no definite evidence to show that the Chandras belonged to outside Bengal. Rohitagiri, the seat of the ancestral dominions of the Chandras, probably located near Comilla in eastern Bengal.[3] "In any case, there is no sufficient reason to conclude that the Chandras came from outside Bengal, and in view of the traditions of the long line of Chandra kings ruling in Bhaṅgala or eastern Bengal, it is more reasonable to hold that Rohitagiri, the seat of the ancestral dominions of the Chandras, was somewhere in eastern Bengal, and probably near Comilla."[4]

From verse 3 of the Rāmapāla copperplate, it is known that "Suvarṇachandra became a follower of the Buddha."[5] But R.C. Majumdar says, "It is probable, therefore, that until his time the family followed Brahmanical religion. But henceforth the family was undoubtedly Buddhist, as is evidenced by the invocation to the Buddha at the beginning of all their copperplate grants, the epithet parama-saugata before the names of kings, and the emblem of the Wheel of Law in their seals like that of the Pāla kings."[6]

The first verse of the Rāmapāla copperplate refers to Lord Buddha as 'the unique receptacle of mercy' *(karuṇaikapātram)* and the *Dharma* as 'the unique lamp of the world' *(jagadekadīpaḥ)*. It mentions further that "in consequence of the worship of the Buddha and the *Dharma*, the entire noble-minded *Saṃgha* of monks transcends the series of continuous existence *(saṃsāra)*."[7] It indicates that the Buddhist *Saṃgha* was in a position to attain *Nirvāṇa.*

Then Trailokyachandra, "who laid the foundations of the greatness of his family" ascended the throne.[8] He was a son of Suvarṇachandra. The Rāmapala copperplate of Śrīchandra and the Dhulia copperplate of Śrīchandra refer to Trailokyachandra as a king of Chandradvīpa, and say, "ādhāro Harikela-rāja-kakuda-ccha-tra-smitānāṃ śrīyaṁ."[9] R.G. Basak interprets it in this way, "the support of the royal majesty smiling in the royal umbrella of the king of Harikela."[10] But N.G. Majumdar has given a different meaning. He says, "the support of Fortune Goddesses (of other kings) smiling at (i.e, joyful on account of) the umbrella which was the royal insignia of the king of Harikela."[11] The first translation suggests that Trailokya was the de facto, if not de jure king of Harikela.[12] But the second translation indicates that he was both de facto and de jure king of Harikela, with a number of other rulers subordinate to him.[13] This has been accepted by scholars. It seems that Trailokyachandra included Chandradvīpa and Harikela in his dominion which he inherited from his father. Then he took the titles of Mahārājādhirāja. Several scholars identify Chandradvīpa and Harikela with the region covering approximately the whole of eastern Bengal and the coastal regions of southern Bengal.[14] Śrīchandra issued four copperplates grants at Vikramapura of the district of Dacca. This indicates that most probably it was the capital of Trailokyachandra or Śrīchandra made it his capital.

The next ruler was Śrīchandra, who was Trailokyachandra's son.[15] He assumed the titles 'Parama-Saugata-Parameśvara-Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja.' This shows that he was a worshipper of the Buddha. He is said to have reigned for thirty-five years. Nothing much is known about him from his inscriptions. Six inscriptions of king Śrīchandra found at different places of East Bengal refer to gifts made by the king to individual Brāhmaṇas or their religious institutions *(maṭhas)*.[16] From these records we learn that although the king offered lands to the Brāhmaṇas or Brahmanical institutions, yet he invoked the Buddha and made the same in the name of Lord Buddhabhaṭṭārika.[17] This indicates that Śrīchandra played his vital role in the religious world for the development of all religions in the kingdom and showed his religious toleration. There is a reference to the gift of land in favour of 'Śāntivārika' or 'the priest in charge of propitiatory rites' on the occasion of a ceremony known as the 'koṭihoma' in the Rāmapāla copperplate.[18] The Dhulla copperplate describes that the land was granted in favour of Śāntivārika for the performance of the Adbhutaśānti, a certain propitiatory rite, during the observance of the ceremony of the four Homas *(homa-catuṣṭaya)*.[19] After examining the scripts of his inscriptions, several scholars refer to the date of Śrīchandra. N.G. Majumdar thinks that the scripts of his inscriptions may belong to the close of the tenth or the first quarter of the eleventh century AD.[20] According to R.D. Banerjee, this script was of the tenth century AD.[21] But R.G. Basak says that it may be assigned to the eleventh and twelfth centuries AD.[22]

Kalyāṇachandra was the son and successor of Śrīchandra. We learn from a plate that the former granted land to a Brāhmaṇa-Paṇḍita in the 24th regnal year.[23] Another ruler of this dynasty was Laḍahachandra.[24] It seems that he was the son and successor of Kalyāṇachandra.[25] Two copperplates of Laḍahachandra were found at Lālmai-Mainākmatī hills in the Mainākmatī region.[26] These copper-

plates inform us that Laḍahachandra gave lands in the name of Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu).[27] They mention further that the Chandra king bathed several times in the Ganges of Vārāṇasī. But they bear the Dharmacakra seal and refer to Laḍahachandra as Parama-Saugata.[28] It is to be noted here that although he was a devout follower of Buddhism, but, even then, he was liberal in his religious outlook and Brahmanism prospered in his kingdom.

Govindachandra was the last member of the Chandra dynasty. Some scholars think that he was the son and successor of Laḍahachandra.[29] He was known as Parama-Saugata.[30] Two inscriptions[31] dated in the 12th and 23rd regnal year of Govindachandra found in Vikramapur of the district of Dacca refer to Govindachandra's rule in eastern Bengal. R.C. Majumdar thinks that Govindachandra probably was the ruler of the whole of the dominions of Śrīchandra.[32] R.C. Majumdar says, "But, as in the case of Laḍahachandra there is no evidence to connect Govindachandra with the family of Śrīchandra, though it is not unlikely that either or both of them were members of that royal family. At all events, the six Chandra kings, known from inscriptions, may be regarded as having ruled in eastern or southern Bengal (and some over both) during the priod between AD 900 and 1050."[33]

The above facts make us quite clear that the Chandras were followers of Buddhism and in their kingdom Buddhism prospered no doubt. But it is interesting to note here that they also patronised other religions and contributed very much to their development. From the Kalacuri records we learn that several Kalacuri king invaded the Chandra kingdom. Karṇa (AD 1041-70), the great Kalacuri king, destroyed the Chandra kingdom in the middle of the eleventh century AD.[34]

GENEALOGY

The Chandra rulers[35]

Pūrṇachandra
Suvarṇachandra
Mahārājādhirāja Trailokyachandra-Śrīkāñcana
Mahārājādhirāja Śrīchandra
Kalyāṇachandra
Laḍahachandra
Govindachandra

REFERENCES

[1]*HB*, I, 194. [2]Ibid. [3]Ibid.
[4]Ibid. [5]Ibid.; *EI*, XII, 136; *IB*, III, 1 ff.
[6]*HB*, I, 194. [7]*BAB*, 50. [8]*HB*, I, 194-95.
[9]Ibid., 195; *EI*, XII, 136-42; *IB*, III, 1 ff, 165-66.
[10]*HB*, I, 195. [11]Ibid. [12]Ibid.
[13]Ibid. [14]Ibid. [15]Ibid.
[16]*CPS*, I, 81-152; *EI*, XXVII, 51-58; XXXIII, 134-40.
[17]*CPS*, I, 81-152; *EI*, XXVII, 51-58; XXXIII, 134-40; *BAB*, 50-51.
[18]*CPS*, I, 81-152; *EI*, XXVII, 51-58; XXXIII, 134-40; *BAB*, 51.
[19]*CPS*, I, 81-152; *EI*, XXVII, 51-58; XXXIII, 134-40; *BAB*, 51.
[20]*HB*, I, 196; *IB*, III, 1. [21]*HB*, I, 196; *SAMSJV*, III, 3, 210-22.
[22]*HB*, I, 196; *EI*, XII, 137.
[23]*BAB*, 51; *PIHC*, XXIII, 1960, I, 36. [24]*BAB*, 51.
[25]Ibid.
[26]*MP*, 21 ff; *BAP*, IV, 1367 B.S., 25 ff; *PIHC*, XXIII, I, 1960, 36 ff.
[27]*MP*, 21 ff; *BAP*, IV, 25 ff; *PIHC*, XXIII, I, 36 ff; *BAB*, 51.
[28]*BAB*, 51. [29]Ibid. [30]Ibid.
[31]*HB*, I, 196. [32]Ibid. [33]Ibid.
[34]Ibid., 196-97. [35]*HB*, I, 193; *BAB*, 49; *DHNI*, I, 385.

THE ŚŪRAS (*c.* AD 950-1100)[1]

There were Śūra rulers in western Bengal. In the genealogical lists of Bengal match-makers *(ghaṭakas)* there is a reference to the Śūra kings of Bengal.[2] Raṇaśūra was regarded as the ruler of the region located in the north of Daṇḍa-bhukti.[3] The Kulapañjikas of these *ghaṭakas* give the names of the Śūra kings. They were Ādiśūra, Bhūśūra, Kṣitiśūra, Avaniśūra, Dhārāṇiśūra and Raṇaśūra.[4] According to several scholars, Raṇaśūra possibly was the ruler of Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha.[5] The commentary of the *Rāmacarita* (II, 5) mentions one Lakṣmīśūra, the ruler of Apara-maṇḍāra.[6] He was one of the chief feudatories of Rāmapāla. Some scholars locate Apara-maṇḍāra in western Bengal.[7] Lakṣmīśūra is mentioned as "Apara-maṇḍāra-madhusūdana and Sāmanta-cakra-cūḍāmaṇi."[8] The Barrackpore (grant) of Vijayasena married Vilāsadevī who was a daughter of the Śūra family.[9] This indicates the existence of the Śūra dynasty in western Bengal.

GENEALOGY

The Śūras[10]

Raṇaśūra (*c.* AD 1021-25)
Lakṣmīśūra (*c.* AD 1084-1100)

REFERENCES

[1]*DHNI*, I, 385.	[2]Ibid., I, 320.	[3]Ibid., 319.
[4]Ibid., 320.	[5]Ibid.	[6]Ibid.
[7]Ibid.	[8]Ibid., I, 341.	[9]Ibid., 320-21.
[10]*DHNI*, I, 385.		

THE VARMAN DYNASTY

The Varmans ruled over eastern Bengal just after the Chandras. The Belava copperplate of Bhojavarman[1] gives an account of the Varman dynasty. It starts with the Purāṇic genealogy of Yadu from Brahmā through Atri, Chandra, Buddha, Purūravas, Āyu, Nahuṣa and Yayāti.[2] Then, there is a reference to Hari of the Yadu family, who was also known as Kṛṣṇa. It also describes that the Varmans were the relatives of Hari and they were zealous in their support of the three Vedas.

The Varmans claimed that they descended from a branch of the Yādava dynasty of Siṃhapur.[3] There is a controversy relating to the identification and location of Siṃhapura. R.C. Majumdar says, "one to the north of the Salt Range in the Punjab; a second in the Kaliṅga, perhaps identical with the modern Siṅgupuram between Cicacole and Narasanupeṭa; and the third in Rāḍhā, generally identified with Siṅgur in the Hooghly district. The first is too far away, and there is no evidence that it existed after the seventh century AD. The third is only known from the legendary account of Vijayasiṃha, contained in the *Mahāvaṃsa* which can hardly be accepted as sober history. The kingdom of Siṃhapura in Kaliṅga, on the other hand, is known to exist as early as the fifth century AD and as late as the twelfth century AD.... The probability, therefore, lies in favour of the kingdom of Siṃhapura in Kaliṅga being the original home of the Varman kings of Bengal. It may be noted that kings with names ending in—Varmans are known to have ruled in this kingdom of Siṃhapura in the fifth century AD, though they never claimed to belong to the Yādava dynasty."[4]

D.C. Ganguly[5] locates Siṃhapura in eastern Bengal and says that it was the capital of the Varmans. He states further that the Belava copperplate does not say that Siṃhapura was the original home of the Varmans and was located outside Bengal.

From the Belava copperplate we do not know when the Varmans occupied eastern Bengal. It is very probable that during the reign of Jātavarman, the Varmans established themselves there and laid the foundation of their dynasty. He was the first independent ruler of the Varman dynasty.[6] Because, his father was Vajravarman, who was not

mentioned in the Belava copperplate as a ruler. Jātavarman married Vīraśrī, who was the daughter of Karṇa (AD 1041-70), the Kalacuri king.[7] From Karṇa's date we may conclude that Jātavarman probably belonged to the third quarter of the eleventh century AD.[8] The Belava copperplate refers to Sāmalavarmadeva after Jātavarman.[9] The former was the son of the latter. This indicates that he occupied the throne of the Varman dynasty after his father. But a fragment of a copperplate of Sāmalavarman was found at Vajrayoginī. There is no reference to its date. Some scholars think that it belonged to the 12th century AD. It throws some doubts on it.[10] According to some scholars, King Harivarman took the throne after Jātavarman. The copperplate mentions that the king offered a gift to Bhimadeva for the worship of the deity Prajñāpāramitā and others.

Two Buddhist manuscripts were copied respectively in his 19th[11] and 39th[12] regnal years of Harivarman and they refer to his name. The first manuscript mentions him as "Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka." The second manuscript describes the date which is given in the post-colophon. It states, "Mahārājādhirāja Śrīmat Harivarmma-deva-pādīya samvat 39."[13] The Bhuvaneśvara inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, a minister of King Harivarman refers to him.[14] The Sāmantaśara copperplate grant which was issued at Vikramapura in the reign of Harivarman describes him as "Parama-Vaiṣṇava Parameśvara Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja", son and successor of Mahārājādhirāja Jyotivarman.[15] N.K. Bhattasali thinks that this Jyotivarman was Jātavarman and Harivarman was probably the elder brother and predecessor of Sāmalavarman.[16] The former reigned in eastern Bengal and Vikramapura was his capital. He is said to have ruled for forty-six years.

The Belava copperplate says that Malavyadevī was the chief among the many queens of Sāmalavarman. They had a son called Bhojavarman, who in his fifth regnal year from Vikramapura issued the Belava copperplate grant.[17] It refers to him as 'Parama-Vaiṣṇava' and also in it there is a reference to Viṣṇucakramudrā.[18] This indicate that the Varmans were Vaiṣṇavas.[19] Sāmalavarman and Bhojavarman ruled in the first half of the twelfth century AD.[20] Shortly after the reign of Bhojavarman, the Varmans were then overthrown by the Senas,[21] who in course of time established themselves in East Bengal.

GENEALOGY

The Varman Dynasty[22]
Vajravarman—father
Jātavarman (Jyotivarman)

Harivarman
Sāmalavarman
Bhojavarman

References

[1]*HB*, I, 197; *EI*, XII, 37; *IB*, III, 14. [2]*HB*, I, 197.
[3]Ibid. [4]Ibid., 197-98.
[5]*HB*, I, 198, fn 2; *IHQ*, XII, 608-9. [6]*HB*, I, 198.
[7]Ibid., I, 198-99. [8]Ibid., 199. [9]Ibid., I, 200.
[10]Ibid.; *EI*, XXX, 259-63.
[11]*HB*, I, 200; *MRASB*, V, 97; *IB*, III, 28.
[12]*HB*, I, 201; *DCSM*, I, 79; *IHQ*, XXII, 135. [13]*HB*, I, 201, fn 1.
[14]Ibid.; *IB*, III, 25 ff. [15]*HB*, I, 201; *VJI*, II, 215.
[16]*HB*, I, 201; *BV*, Māgha, 1344, 169-71. [17]*HB*, I, 203.
[18]Ibid. [19]Ibid. [20]Ibid.
[21]Ibid. [22]*HB*, I, 197-204; *DHNI*, I, 386.

The Sena Dynasty

The Senas came to power in Bengal just after the Pāla rulers. It is known from historical records that originally they belonged to a place called Karṇāṭa in south India.[1] The Deopara inscription says, "Vīrasena and others, born in the family of the Moon, were rulers of the southern region whose achievements were sung by Vyāsa, and in that Sena family was born Sāmantasena, the head-garland of the Brahma Kṣatriyas."[2] The Mādhāinagar grant describes, "In the family of Vīrasena, which has become illustrious through the legends recorded in the Purāṇas, was born Sāmantasena, the head-garland of the clan of the Karṇāṭa-Kṣatriyas."[3] The Deopara inscription also mentions that "Sāmantasena slaughtered the wicked despoilers of the Lakṣmī (i.e., wealth) of Karṇāṭa in battles waged in southern India."[4] From the above facts we conclude that the Senas came from Karṇāṭa i.e., the region of modern Mysore and Hyderabad states.[5] R.C. Majumdar says, "A Sena family from Karṇāṭa had settled in western Bengal but kept itself in touch with its motherland; that one of its members, Sāmantasena, spent his early life in Karṇāṭa, distinguishing himself in various warfares in south India, and betook himself in old age to the family seat in Bengal. Evidently his exploits made the family so powerful that his son was able to carve out a kingdom in Bengal; for Hemantasena, the son of Sāmantasena, is the first of the family to whom royal epithets are given in the family records. It is true that Sāmantasena's predecessors are referred to as

princes who ruled over the surface of the earth, but beyond these vague general phrases, there is nothing to indicate that they really held the rank of independent kings."[6] Several records, belonged to the Senas describe them 'Brahma-Kṣatriya',[7] 'Karṇāṭa-Kṣatriya' and 'Kṣatriya' also.[8]

The first member of the Senas was Sāmantasena.[9] No historical records mentions that he had a royal title or he established a kingdom. His son was Hemantasena.[10] He established an independent kingdom in Rāḍhā. The Barrackpur copperplate[11] of his son Vijayasena describes that Hemantasena assumed the title Mahārājādhirāja. Vijayasena, his son, succeeded his father.[12] He reigned for more than sixty years. (*c.* AD 1095-1158). He was a powerful ruler and conquered nearly the whole of Bengal.[13] He called himself 'Parama-Maheśvara.' R.C. Majumdar observes, "The long and memorable reign of Vijayasena not only restored the peace and prosperity in Bengal, but it was a momentous episode in the history of Bengal."[14] Vallālasena,[15] who was a son of Vijayasena, took the throne of the Sena dynasty after the death of his father in AD 1158. His reign was very peaceful and prosperous. His wife was Rāmādevī, who was the daughter of Jagadekamalla II, the Chālukya king.[16] He was a scholar and he wrote two works—the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara*. He had the title Mahārājādhirāja and he also assumed the epithet 'Arirājaniḥśaṅka-śaṅkara.'[17] He also called himself 'Parama-Maheśvara'.[18] After his death, Lakṣmaṇasena ascended the throne. He also took the epithet 'Arirāja-madana-śaṅkara' and had also the titles Mahārājādhirāja-Gauḍeśvara.[19] He in his own official records used the word 'Parama-Vaiṣṇava', or 'Parama-Narasiṃha.'[20] His own records also refer to his victories over the kings of Gauḍa, Kāmarūpa, Kaliṅga and Kāśī.[21] He even planted pillars to commemorate his military victory at Puri, Benares and Allahabad.[22] R.C. Majumdar says, "But although Lakṣmaṇasena began with a brilliant career of conquest, his reign ended in a sea of troubles that overwhelmed him and his kingdom."[23] An inscription[24] discovered in western Sundarbans refers to the establishment of a person named Dharmapāla as an independent chief in AD 1196 in the eastern part of Khāḍi (in Sunderbans) which, according to the records of both Vijayasena and Lakṣmaṇasena, was an integral part of the Sena dominions. Also about the same time the Deva family established an independent kingdom towards the eastern side of the Meghnā river.[25] In AD 1202 Muhammad Bakhtyar Khilji or Muhammad Bakhtyar invaded Bengal and also attacked the palace of Lakṣmaṇasena who was then very old.[26] He could not face the situation. He left the palace and went to eastern Bengal.[27] No historical records refer to Muhammad Bakhtyar's

further struggle with the Senas. Lakṣmaṇasena died in AD 1205.[28] After him Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena his two sons, ruled in Vikramapura one after the other.[29] Viśvarūpasena not only assumed the imperial title Mahārājādhirāja but also called himself 'Arirāja-Vṛṣabhāṅka-śaṅkara-Gauḍeśvara.'[30] Keśavasena also used the imperial title 'Mahārājādhirāja' as well as the epithet 'Arirāja-asahya-śaṅkara-Gauḍeśvara.'[31] Both the kings applied to themselves the epithet 'Saura'[32] which suggests that they were sun-worshippers. Both Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena probably ruled till AD 1230.[33] From Viśvarupasena's record we get the name of Kumāra Sūryasena and Kumāra Puruṣottamasena who donated lands to Brāhmaṇas.[34] We are quite sure that they were members of the Sena family but we do not know from any evidence whether they ascended the throne of the Sena dynasty. Due to much pressure of the Muslim invaders and to the rebellion of local chiefs, the Sena power became weak and soon it declined. It is very probable that the rule of the Sena dynasty came to an end towards the close of the thirteenth century AD.

It is interesting to note there that the colophon of a manuscript of Pañcarakṣā refers to a king, who was Madhusena.[35] It says, "Parameśvara-parama-saugata-parama-rājādhirāja-śrīmad-Gauḍeśvara-Madhusena-devakānaṃ-pravardha-nāma-vijayarājye yatrānkenāpi śaka-nara-pateḥ śakābdaḥ 1211 Bhadra di 2."[36] It mentions him as 'Parameśvara-parama-saugata', which indicates that he was a worshipper of the Buddha. He ruled in AD 1289. But from any record we do not get any detailed account about him. It is difficult to say anything about his dynasty and his kingdom. It is very possible that he ruled somewhere in southern or western Bengal or after capturing eastern Bengal from Daśarathadeva or his successor, he established his rule there.[37]

From historical records belonged to the Senas it is clear that the Senas were followers of Brahmanism. The Deopara stone inscription of Vijayasena refers to the construction of the high temple of Pradyumneśvara Śiva and the excavation of a lake.[38] Vijayasena was a worshipper of Śiva and had the title Parama-Maheśvara. His two inscriptions—the Deopara stone inscription and the Barrackpore grant begins with 'Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya'.[39] Ballālasena, like his father, was a worshipper of Śiva. He had the title Parama-Maheśvara. His Naihati grant found in the Katwa sub-division of the Burdwān district opens with 'Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya.'[40] It invokes Ardhanārīśvara (Śiva). From the Madanapārā and Mymensing grants of Lakṣmaṇasena's son inform us that Lakṣmaṇasena was a devotee of Śiva because he assumed the title Madana-Śaṅkara.[41] But his Tarpandighi and Anulia grants refer to him as Parama-Vaiṣṇava.[42] In the Mādhāinagar grant

there is a reference to him as Parama-Narasiṃha.[43] All these grants begin with 'Oṃ namo Nārāyaṇa.' He also had the title Parama-saura.[44] Thus in the kingdom of the Senas the three Brahmanical religion sects—Śaiva Vaiṣṇava and Saura[45] became very prominent and flourished under the patronage of the Sena rulers. This period was regarded also as the high-water mark of the development of Sanskrit literature.[46]

GENEALOGY

The Sena Dynasty[47]

Vīrasena (*c.* AD 1050-75)
Sāmantasena (*c.* AD 1075-95)
Hemantasena
Vijayasena (*c.* AD 1095-1158)
Vallālasena (*c.* AD 1158-79)
Lakṣmaṇasena (*c.* AD 1179-1205)
Mādhavasena
Viśvarūpasena (*c.* AD 1205)
Keśavasena (*c.* AD 1225-30)

REFERENCES

[1] *HB*, I, 205. [2] Ibid.; *EI*, I, 305; *IB*, III, 46-50.
[3] *HB*, I, 205; *IB*, III, 110-13. [4] *HB*, I, 205.
[5] Ibid. [6] Ibid., 206. [7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid., 210. [9] Ibid. [10] Ibid.; *IB*, III, 62.
[11] Ibid., I, 210. [12] Ibid., 210-11. [13] Ibid., 219.
[14] Ibid., 215. [15] Ibid., 216. [16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid., 216-17. [18] Ibid., 219. [19] Ibid., 218.
[20] Ibid., 219. [21] Ibid., 220. [22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid., 222. [24] Ibid.; *IC*, I, 679. [25] *HB*, I, 223.
[26] Ibid. [27] Ibid., 224. [28] Ibid., 225.
[29] Ibid., 225, fn 1. [30] Ibid., 225. [31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid. [33] Ibid., 227. [34] Ibid.; *IB*, III, 147.
[35] *HB*, I, 228. [36] Ibid.; *DCSM*, I, 117. [37] *HB*, I, 228.
[38] *DHNI*, I, 361-62; *JASB*, XXXIV, I, 28-154; *EI*, I, 305-15.
[39] *HB*, I, 362-63; *JASB*, XXXIV, 128-54; *EI*, I, 305-15, XV, 278-86.
[40] *DHNI*, I, 366. [41] Ibid., 375-76.
[42] Ibid., 376-77; *JASB*, XLIV, I. 11 ff; *EI*, XII, 6-10; *JASB*, 1900, LXIX, 61-65.
[43] *HB*, I, 376-78; *JASBNS*, I, 467-76. [44] *HB*, I, 376.
[45] Ibid., 225. [46] Ibid., 229-30.
[47] *HB*, I, 230-31; *EHI*, 435, fn 1; *DHNI*, I, 386.

The Śūdraka Dynasty (c. AD 1100-50)[1]

An undated Gayā inscription of a king named Yakṣapāla was found.[2] This stone inscription was written in Devanāgarī script of about the 12th century AD. It begins with 'Oṃ namo Sūryāya' and mentions that Yakṣapāla constructed a temple at Gayā for the gods Maunāditya, Sahasraliṅga, Kamalā, Ardhāṅgīna, Dvistomeśvara, Phalgunātha, Vijayāditya and Kedāranātha.[3] This shows that Yakṣapāla was not only a devout worshipper of Sūrya but also showed his great faith in other Brahmanical gods and goddesses. The genealogical portion of the inscription[4] says that Yakṣapāla claims his descent from Śūdraka. The latter was the lord of Gauḍa, and was almost equal to Indra. Śūdraka's son was Viśvarūpa who is said to have gained great victories and conferred the riches appropriated from the enemy to the most excellent twice born.[5] His son was Narendra Yakṣapāla. Viśvarūpa and his son Yakṣapāla assumed royal titles at Gayā. It indicates that the Pāla hold even over Magadha was growing loose.[6] It seems that this family declared their independence soon after Rāmapāla's death. The rulers of this dynasty were followers of Brahmanism.

Genealogy

The Śūdrakas[7]
Śūdraka
Viśvarūpa
Yakṣapāla

References

[1]*DHNI*, I, 386. [2]Ibid., 348; *IA*, XVI, 63-66.
[3]Ibid., I, 348. [4]Ibid. [5]Ibid.
[6]Ibid. [7]*DHNI*, I, 386.

The Mānas (c. AD 1100)[1]

Like the Śūdrakas, there was another small dynasty which became known as the Māna dynasty. H.C. Ray says, "Another small principality which also probably became free from the control of the Pālas at this time was that of the Mānas."[2] The Dudhpani Rock inscription of Udayamāna in Hazaribagh district refers to the beginning of the importance of this family in about the 8th century AD.[3] It describes that three brothers named Udayamāna, Śrīdhantamāna and Ajitamāna were merchants and for the purpose of trade they used to move between Ayodhyā and Tāmralipti. In course of time they became masters of the three villages of Bhramaraśālnālī, Nabhūtiṣaṇḍaka and Ciṅgala, through the favour of Magadhādhirāja Ādisiṃha.[4] They were petty feudatory chiefs probably for about four centuries. At the beginning of the 12th century AD they declared their independence. The Govindapur stone inscription of the poet Gaṅgādhara dated in AD 1137-38 was found at Govindapur in the Nawada sub-division of the Gayā district in Bihar.[5] This is really a *praśasti* of Gaṅgādhara and his family who claimed to be Maga Brahman highly proficient in Vedic studies. They were also poets.[6] Gaṅgādhara's uncle Daśaratha stayed at the court of the Magadheśvara Varṇamāna and held the post of Pratihāra.[7] He then became the counsellor of king Rudramāna and married Pāsaladevī, who was a daughter of King Jayapāni, the Gauḍa king's friend.[8] Kielhorn says that these two Māna rulers of Magadha ruled "towards the end of the 11th and at the beginning of the 12th century AD."[9] H.C. Ray says, "There seems to be no reason to doubt that the family of Yakṣapāla, which claimed the rule in the neighbourhood of Gayā city, and the Mānas who held the western portion of the Gayā district and northern portion of Hazaribagh were petty rulers, and they may therefore, have ruled in the area simultaneously."[10]

Genealogy

The Mānas
Varṇamāna
Rudramāna

References

[1]*DHNI*, I, 387. [2]Ibid., 348. [3]Ibid., 348-49.
[4]Ibid., 349. [5]Ibid. [6]Ibid.
[7]Ibid. [8]Ibid. [9]Ibid.
[10]Ibid.

The Kaivartas (c. AD 1080-1100)[1]

Divvoka was the chief of the Kaivartas. He was at first a servant of the Pāla rulers.[2] Taking advantage of the troubles of the Pālas, he raised the standard of rebellion in Varendrī, and drove away his master

(Mahīpāla II) from the part of North Bengal which still remained under the Pālas.[3] Mahīpāla II was defeated and killed by Divvoka. The next ruler was Bhīma, the son of Rūdoka, the brother of Divvoka. It is said that the Mahāpratihāra Śivarāja, the nephew of Mathana of Aṅga defeated Bhīma in fierce fight and for a time was so successful that the whole country appeared to be free from the control of the Kaivartas.[4]

GENEALOGY

The Kaivartas[5]

Divvoka — Rūdoka
Rūdoka
|
Bhīma

REFERENCES

[1]*DHNI*, I, 387. [2]Ibid., 337. [3]Ibid.
[4]Ibid., 340. [5]Ibid., I, 387.

THE CHIKKORAS OF PĪṬHĪ

It is very probably that the Senas of Pīṭhī succeeded the Chikkoras of Pīṭhī (*c.* AD 1050-1150).[1] Vallabharāja was the lord of Pīṭhī. He belonged to the Cikkora family.[2] His son and successor was Devarakṣita.[3] This ruler was a very important feudatory of the Pālas. "In the list of the Sāmantas of Rāmapāla, the lord of Pīṭhī is placed first."[4] Mathana-Mahana, who was the feudatory ruler of the principality of Aṅga defeated Devarakṣita, the Piṭhāpati.[5] We are told that the former, after defeating this prince, gave his own daughter. Bhīmayaśa was a successor of Devakrakṣita.[6] No record says anything about the contribution of the rulers to the religious world.

GENEALOGY

The Chikkoras of Pīṭhī[7]

In the Chikkora-*vaṃśa* of the lunar race
|
Vallabharāja
|
Devarakṣita—Śaṅkaradevī
|
Bhīmayaśa — Kumāradevī—Gāhaḍavāla Govindachandra

REFERENCES

[1]*DHNI*, I, 338. [2]Ibid., 339. [3]Ibid., 329.
[4]Ibid. [5]Ibid. [6]Ibid.
[7]*DHNI*, 528, 387.

THE KINGDOM OF PĪṬHĪ

Several kings with names ending in Sena reigned in the kingdom of Pīṭhī.[1] An inscription discovered at Jānibighā near Bodh Gayā refers to the grant of a village to the Vajrāsana (i.e., the Mahābodhi temple) by king Ācārya Jayasena who was not only the son of Buddhasena but was the lord of Pīṭhī.[2] Buddhasena has been identified with Ācārya Buddhasena, who was lord of Pīṭhī.[3] An inscription found at Bodh Gayā mentions him.[4] It states that he gave directions to the inhabitants of the Mahābodhi. Because some grant was made to Śrī-Dharmarakṣita, who was the preceptor of Aśokacalla, king of Kāma.[5] These two inscriptions make us quite clear the kingdom of Pīṭhī of Buddhasena was located in the district of Gayā.[6]

The *Rāmacarita* refers to Bhīmayaśa who was a feudal chief.[7] He gave Rāmapāla his support when the latter attacked Bhīma. The *Rāmacarita* mentions Bhīmayaśas as Pīṭhīpati, lord of Pīṭhī and Magadhādhipati, the lord of Magadha.[8] K.P. Jayaswal and N.G. Majumdar think that "Pīṭhī and Magadha are practically identical."[9] K.P. Jayaswal says that "there cannot be any doubt that in the early Sena times Pīṭhī denoted the whole of the province of Bihar (except Mithilā)."[10]

The Jānibighā inscription gives the year 83 of Lakṣmaṇasena-ātitarājya.[11] R.C. Majumdar says, "The most reasonable view seems to be that the year is to be counted from the end of Lakṣmaṇasena's rule in the Gayā region, i.e., about AD 1200 and hence Jayasena's reign falls in AD 1283."[12] K.P. Jayaswal thinks that Buddhasena and Jayasena were the members of the Sena family in Bengal.[13] But R.C. Majumdar does not support it.[14] He states, "there is nothing to support the contention that Buddhasena and Jayasena of Pīṭhī were related in any way to the Senas of Bengal, though this can not be regarded as altogether beyond the bounds of probability".[15] H.C. Raychaudhuri mentions that king Lakṣmaṇasena, the founder of the Pīṭhī dynasty, founded an era which started in AD 1119 and Buddhasena and Jayasena belonged to this dynasty.[16]

The rulers of the kingdom of Pīṭhī were Buddhists no doubt. The inscription found at Jānibighā indicates that Buddhism prospered in the kingdom of Pīṭhī under the patronage of the rulers of Pīṭhī.

GENEALOGY

The Kingdom of Pīṭhī; The Senas of Pīṭhī (c. AD 1100-1270)[17]

Buddhasena
Jayasena

REFERENCES

[1]*HB,* I, 259.
[2]Ibid.; *JBORS,* IV, 266 ff, 273 ff; *IA,* XLVIII, 1919, 43 ff; *DHNI,* I, 383 ff.
[3]*HB,* I, 259. [4]Ibid. [5]Ibid., 259.
[6]Ibid. [7]Ibid. [8]Ibid.
[9]Ibid. [10]Ibid., 259, fn 5. [11]Ibid., 260.
[12]Ibid. [13]Ibid. [14]Ibid.
[15]Ibid. [16]Ibid., 260-61. [17]*DHNI,* I, 387.

THE DEVA DYNASTY

From three copperplate grants we get the names of several Deva kings.[1] The Mehār copperplate of Dāmodaradeva dated Śaka 1156, and the Chittagong copperplate of Dāmodaradeva, dated Śaka 1165 mention a dynasty.[2] Here is given a genealogical list of its rulers.[3]

Puruṣottama
Madhumathanadeva

Vāsudeva
Dāmodaradeva

The Devas descended from the moon and they were Vaiṣṇavas by faith.[4] Puruṣottama was regarded as the first member of the Deva family. But no grant refers to his royal title. From it we conclude that probably Puruṣottama was not the founder of the Deva family and he was not a king. His son was Madhumathanadeva who is mentioned as a king. Probably, he was the founder of the Deva kingdom. His son was Vāsudeva. Dāmodaradeva was Vāsudeva's son. The former occupied the throne of the Deva kingdom in AD 1231, and ruled till AD 1243 when the Chittagong copperplate of Dāmodaradeva dated Śaka 1165 was issued.[5] Dāmodaradeva assumed the epithet 'Arirāja-Cānūra-Mādhava.'[6] He ruled over a kingdom which most probably comprised the modern districts of Tippera, Noakhali and Chittagong.[7]

From the grant no. III we get the name of another king of Deva dynasty who was Daśarathadeva. The grant refers to him as 'Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Arirāja-Mādhava, the illustrious Daśarathadeva.'[8] It also mentions him as 'Devānvaya-kamala-vikāśa-bhāskara.'[9] This signifies that Daśaratha belonged to the Deva family and was a Vaiṣṇava. Vikramapura was the place where the grant was issued.[10] It shows that Daśaratha occupied the Sena kingdom in East Bengal.[11] He also took possession of a portion of North or West Bengal.[12] Vaiṣṇavism flourished in the Deva kingdom under the patronage of its rulers.

Two copperplates[13] found at Bhāterā, about 20 miles from Sylhet, give us the names of several kings. They were:

In the family of the Moon
Kharavāṇa (Navagīravvāna)
Gokuladeva
Nārāyaṇa (Nārāyaṇadeva)
Keśavadeva (Keśava-deva-deva alias Ripu-rāja-Gopī-Govinda)
Īśānadeva

From the palaeographical grounds the plates may belong to earlier than the 13th century AD[14] or may be even somewhat later.[15] The names of all the rulers, except no. 1, ended with 'deva'. From it we conclude that they all probably belonged to the Deva dynasty.

References

[1]*HB*, I, 253; *IB*, III, 158 ff, 181; *BV*, Pauṣa, 1332 VS, 78-81.
[2]*HB*, I, 253; *IB*, III, 158 ff. [3]*HB*, I, 253; *IB*, III, 158 ff.
[4]*HB*, I, 253. [5]Ibid. [6]Ibid., 254.
[7]Ibid. [8]Ibid. [9]Ibid.
[10]Ibid. [11]Ibid. [12]Ibid.
[13]Ibid., I, 256; *PRASB*, 1880, 41 ff; *EI*, XIX, 277 ff.
[14]Ibid., I, 256. [15]Ibid.

The Kingdom of Paṭṭikerā

The kingdom of Paṭṭikerā in the district of Tippera existed in the 11th century AD.[1] A manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* which was copied in AD 1015 has a picture of a sixteen-armed goddess with the label 'Paṭṭikere Cundā-varabhavane Cundā.'[2] It indicates that the image of the Buddhist goddess Cundā was quite well-known in Paṭṭikerā in the 11th century AD. Thus Buddhism flourished there in the 11th century AD.

The Burmese chronicles refer to the kingdom of Paṭṭikerā.[3] The Hmannan Yazawin Dawgyi describes that Paṭṭikerā, the country of Kalas (foreigners), was located on the western side of the kingdom of Anoratha (Anuruddha), who ruled at Pagan in Upper Burma in the middle of the eleventh century AD.[4] The same chronicle refers to the romantic love story of the prince of Paṭṭikerā and Sheweinthi, the daughter of king Kyanzittha, who reigned in Pagan in Upper Burma between AD 1084 and 1112. A copperplate discovered in the neighbourhood of Comilla refers to the kingdom of Paṭṭikerā in the 13th century AD.[5] It says that Raṇavaṅkamalla Śrī-Harikāladeva in AD 1220 in his 17th regnal year gave land to a Buddhist monastery, erected in the city of Paṭṭikerā.[6] This Paṭṭikerā was the capital of the kingdom and the Burmese chronicles mention it as Paṭikkerā.[7]But this city has not yet been identified properly. It is very probable that it was located within the district of Tippera. Because a *parganā* of this district which extended up to the Maināmati Hills, five miles to the west of Comilla was known by the name of Pāṭikārā or Pāiṭkārā.[8] But in older documents Pāṭikerā or Pāiṭkarā was the name of this *parganā*.[9]

Although we are not quite clear about the position of the kingdom of Paṭṭikerā in the 11th and 12th centuries AD, yet we believe from the accounts of the Burmese chronicles that this was an independent kingdom no doubt. Harikāladeva Raṇavaṅkamalla who occupied the throne of Paṭṭikerā in AD 1204 ruled up to AD 1220. He was an independent king.[10] He was probably a follower of Buddhism. From

the erection of a Buddhist monastery in his kingdom it shows that Buddhism prospered in the kingdom of Paṭṭikerā in the 13th century AD.

References

[1]*HB*, I, 257. [2]Ibid.; *EIBI*, 1900, 199, pt. VIII, 4.
[3]*HB*, I, 257; *ASRB*, 1921-22, 61-62; 1922-23, 31-32; *PHB*, 49-50.
[4]*HB*, I, 257. [5]Ibid., 256; *IHQ*, IX, 282 ff.
[6]*HB*, I, 256; *IHQ*, IX, 282 ff. [7]*HB*, I, 258.
[8]Ibid [9]Ibid. [10]Ibid.

The Minor Gupta Dynasty

The Pañcobh copperplate of Saṃgrāma Gupta of the 12th century AD gives the names of several kings.[1] They were:

Yajñeśa Gupta
Dāmodara Gupta
Deva Gupta
Rājāditya Gupta
Kṛṣṇa Gupta
Saṃgrāma Gupta[2]

The copperplate mentions the first three rulers as kings.[3] But Rājāditya Gupta and Kṛṣṇa Gupta assumed the epithet "Paramamaheśvara-vṛṣebhadhvaja-Somānavayaj-Ārjuna-Vaṃśodbhava-Jayapura-parameśvara."[4] The copperplate refers to Saṃgrāma Gupta as "paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara" as well as "Mahāmaṇḍalika."[5] The rulers of this dynasty was regarded as lords of Jayapura.[6] They descended from Arjuna of Lunar family.[7] They were followers of Śaivism and they used bull as their emblem.[8] From the word 'Gupta' several scholars think that probably they descended from the Imperial or Later Guptas.[9]

References

[1]*HB*, I, 261; *JBORS*, V, 582 ff. [2]*HB*, I, 261.
[3]Ibid., I, 256; *ASRB*, 1921-22, 61-62; 1922-23, 31-32; *PHB*, 49-50.
[4]Ibid. [5]Ibid. [6]Ibid.
[7]Ibid. [8]Ibid. [9]Ibid., I, 262.

Chapter 10

Buddhism in Southern India

1. THE CHĀLUKYAS OF VĀTĀPI (BĀDĀMI)

The Chālukyas appeared in the political history of the Deccan in the middle of the sixth century AD.[1] R.G. Bhandarkar[2] says that Bilhana, the author of the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* or Life of Vikramāditya, (a prince of the later or restored Chālukya line), gives an account of the legendary origin of this family. He mentions, "On one occasion when Brahmadeva was engaged in his morning devotions, Indra came up to him, and complains of the sinfulness of the world in which no man performed the sacrificial rites or gave oblations to the gods. Brahmadeva looked at his Chuluka or the hand hollowed for the reception of water in the course of his devotional exercise and from it sprang a mightywarrior who became the progenitor of the Chālukya race, some time after two great heroes of the Lana of Harīti and Manavya were born in the family and they raised it to very great distinction. The original seat of the dynasty was at Ayodhyā and in course of time a branch of it established itself in the south."[3] V.A. Smith also describes, "The Chālukyas claimed to be a race of Rājpūts from the north, who imposed their rule upon the Dravidian inhabitants of the Deccan table-land, which had already been largely influenced by the Aryan ideas of the northerners before the appearance of the Chālukyas on the scene."[4] He states further that "the Chālukyas of Solaṅkīs were connected with the Chāpas and so with the foreign Gurjara tribe of which the Chāpas were a branch, and it seems to be probable that they emigrated from Rājputānā to the Deccan."[5]

The first ruler of this dynasty was Jayasiṃha. He was succeeded by his son Raṇarāga. He was a prince of great valour and had a stately and gigantic person.[6] The next ruler was his son Pulakeśin I. He occupied the throne in the middle of the sixth century AD. He was figure of some note.[7] He celebrated an aśvamedha or horse-sacrifice. Vātāpipura, the modern Bādāmi in the Bījāpur district, was his capital. R.G. Bhandarkar says, "He appears to have been the first

great prince of the family; for, in all the subsequent grants the genealogy begins with him. His full title was "Satyāśraya Śrī Pulakeśī Vallabha Mahārāja."[8] His son Kīrtivarman ascended the throne after him. He was a powerful ruler no doubt. Because the Mauryas of nothern Konkan, the Kadambas of Banavāsī in north Kanārā and the Naḷas[9] were defeated by him.[10] He was succeeded by his brother Maṅgaleśa or Maṅgalarāja. Because the former had three young sons. Maṅgaleśa conquered Revatīdvīpa (modern Reḍi, Ratnagiri district) and defeated the Kalacuris of northern Deccan. An inscription in the 12th year of the reign of Maṅgaleśa refers to a cave-temple of Viṣṇu and on the occasion of it consecration granted a village out of the revenues of which a ceremony called Nārāyaṇabalī was to be performed and sixteen Brāhmaṇas to be fed every day and the residue to be devoted to the maintenance of recluses.[11]

The next ruler was Pulakeśin II, the son of Kīrtivarman. He was also known as Satyāśraya Śrī Pṛthvī-Vallabha Mahārāja. It is very probable that he ascended the throne in AD 611. By his policy as well as valour, he became the supreme lord of the three countries called Mahārāṣṭrakas containing 99 thousand villages.[12] He conquered Vanavāsī (Banavāsī), the capital of the Kadambas. The Gaṅgas of Gangāvadī were afraid of him and he subdued the Mauryas who belonged to northern Konkan. The Lāṭas of southern Gujarat, the Mālavas and the Gurjaras, the kings of Kośala and Kaliṅga also surrendered to him.[13] Even Harṣavardhana of Kanauj also was defeated by him.[14] He also defeated Mahendravarman I, the Pallava ruler of Kāñcī (Conjeeveram). Not only the Coḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Keralas but also the fortress of Piṣṭapura (modern Pīṭhāpuram) surrendered to him.[15] He also established diplomatic relations with Khusru II, king of Persia.[16] He appointed his younger brother Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana-Viṣamsiddhi in AD 615 to govern the eastern territories from Veṅgi.[17] In AD 642 Narasiṃhavarman I, Pallava ruler of Kāñcī, conquered Pulakeśin II's kingdom and destroyed his capital and killed him.[18]

During Pulakeśin II's reign, Hiuen-tsang the Chinese traveller, visited Mahārāṣṭra. He refers to it as Mo-ha-la-ch'a (or t'a).[19] He says that the kingdom was 6,000 *li* (1200 miles) in circuit and the capital was 30 *li*. "Its soil is rich and fertile; it is regularly cultivated and very productive.... The inhabitants were proud-spirited and warlike, grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards suppliants in distress and sanguinary to death with any who treated them insultingly. Their martial heroes who led the van of the army in battle went into conflict intoxicated, and their war-elephants were also made drunk before an engagement."[20]

The Chinese traveller met Pulakeśin II. He describes, "He is of the race of Ysa-to-li (Kṣatriya); his name is Pu-lo-ki-she; his ideas are large and profound and he extends widely his sympathy and benefactions. His subjects serve him with perfect self devotions."[21]

The next ruler was Vikramāditya I, who was a son of Pulakeśin II. He is said to have captured Kāñcī, the capital of the Pallava kingdom and defeated Narasiṃhavarman I, Mahendravarman II and Parameśvaravarman, three Pallava rulers. He also subdued the rulers of the Coḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Keralas.[22] He is said to have repelled all the enemies that attacked him. He acquired again the whole of the dominions ruled over by his father and became the paramount sovereign of the country between the three seas.[23] He built and repaired several temples in Kāñcī.

Vinayāditya, who was a son of Vikramāditya I, succeeded his father in AD 680. An inscription says that "Vinayāditya Satyāśraya acquired the insignia of supreme dominion by crushing the lord of all the region of the North."[24] He even succeeded in making the Pallavas, Kalabhras, Keralas, Haihayas, Coḷas, Pāṇḍyas and others as steadfast allies of the Chālukya crown as the Gaṅga family of Chera and the Alupas.[25] The next ruler was Vijayāditya. He succeeded his father Vinayāditya in AD 697. He ruled for 36 years. He erected temples for Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva at Vātāpi in AD 699.[26] At one time the Pallavas captured him but he defeated his enemies. He, anyhow, managed to escape from his enemy's camp and returned to his kingdom. He succeeded in averting anarchy and disturbance in his own country and when he got off he established his power everywhere and bore all the insignia of supreme sovereignty.[27]

The next ruler was Vikramāditya II. He defeated the Pallava ruler Nandipotavarman. As a result of his successful expedition he brought large quantities of rubies, elephants and instruments of martial music from Kāñcī.[28] He was successful against the Choḷas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Keralas and the Kalabhras and subdued them. "He restored to the temples of Rājasiṃheśvara and other gods the gold which had been taken by some previous kings.[29] He made gifts to Brāhmaṇas.[30] His two Haihaya wives constructed two temples for Śiva at Vātāpi. He ruled for 14 years. He was succeeded by his son Kīrtivarman II in AD 747-48.[31] During his reign the Rāṣṭrakūṭas under the leadership of Dantidurga captured Mahārāṣṭra from the hands of the Chālukyas in the middle of the 8th century AD.[32] From this period onwards the Chālukyas lost control over Mahārāṣṭra. It is to be noted here that the main branch of the Chālukya dynasty disappeared after the reign of Kīrtivarman. But another branch, under the leadership of Taila II or Tailapa flourished. The latter founded the dynasty of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa or Kalyāṇī.[33]

The Chālukyas were followers of Brahmanism. They played their prominent roles for the development of Brahmanism in their kingdom. During their rule both Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism flourished side by side in their kingdom. But Śaivism was perhaps the more favoured creed.[34] Many temples for Śiva were built at Bādāmi, Pattadakal, Mahākūṭa, Ellora and other places. Many Śaiva priests were brought from the banks of the Ganges and daily worship and periodical festival in these temples were introduced. Jainism also flourished there under their patronage. Rama Shankar Tripathi says, "The Vātāpi Chālukyas were staunch Brahmanists, but they observed the golden rule of toleration. During their ascendency Jainism prospered in the Deccan, specially its southern part." Ravikīrti, the Jaina author, of the Aihole inscription, who constructed a temple of Jinendra, claims to have obtained the highest favour of Pulakeśin II. Similarly, Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya II granted villages to well-known Jaina *paṇḍits*. We have, however, no evidence to show in what manner Buddhism was patronised by the Chālukya monarchs. It was perhaps on the wane, although it had not become extinct as would be clear from the following testimony of Yuan Chwang, "of Buddhist monasteries there were above 100, and the Brethren, who were adherents of both vehicles, were more than 5,000 in number. Within and outside the capital was five Aśoka topes where the four Past Buddhas had sat and walked for exercise; and there were innumerable other topes of stone or brick.[35] As regards Brahmanism, the Paurāṇic deities rose into prominence, and superb structures were erected at Vātāpi (Bādāmi) and Pattadakal[36] (Bījāpur district) in honour of the Trinity—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva; these gods were also known by a variety of names. Sometimes, temples were excavated out of solid rocks; as for instance, Maṅgaleśa signalised his reign by an architectural achievement of this description, consecrated to Viṣṇu. It has further been conjectured that some of the famous Ajantā cave-frescoes probably belong to the time of these early Chālukyas. Lastly, elaborate sacrifices were then in vogue, and we learn that Pulakeśin I alone performed a number of them, such as the Aśvamedha, Vājapeya, Pauṇḍarīka, etc."[37]

V.A. Smith observes, "During the two centuries of the rule of the early Chālukya dynasty of Vātāpi, great changes in the religious state of the country were in progress. Buddhism, although still influential, and supported by a considerable section of the population, was slowing, declining and suffering gradual supersession by its competitors, Jainism and Brahmanical Hinduism. The sacrificial form of the Hindu religion received special attention, and was made the subject of a multitude of formal treatises. The Purāṇic forms of

Hinduism also grew in popularity; and everywhere elaborate temples dedicated to Viṣṇu, Śiva or other members of the Purāṇic pantheon, were erected; which , even in their ruins, form magnificent memorials of the kings of this period. The orthodox Hindus borrowed from their Buddhist and Jaina rivals the practice of excavating cave-temples; and one of the earliest Hindu works of this class is that made at Bādāmi in honour of Viṣṇu by Maṅgaleśa Chālukya, at the close of the sixth century. Jainism was specially popular in the southern Marāṭhā country...."[38]

R.G. Bhandarkar mentions: "During the period occupied by the reigns of these early Chālukya princes, the Jaina religion comes into prominence along with a developed form of Purāṇic Brahmanism as well as the old Vedic religion. Ravikīrti, the Jaina, who composed the Aihole inscription and represents himself as a poet, was patronised by Pulakeśin II, and Vikramāditya II repaired a Jaina temple and gave a grant in connection with it to a learned Jaina of the name of Vijaya Paṇḍita, who is represented to have silenced his opponents in arguments and is styled the only disputant. But Jainism in those days as at present probably flourished in southern Marāṭhā country only. Temples in honour of the Purāṇic triad Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara with a variety of names were constructed in many places. The worship of Śiva in his terrific form seems also to have prevailed, as the Nāsik grant of Nāgavardhana assigning a certain village to the worship of Kapalikeśvara or god wearing a garland of skulls would show. And grants to Brahmans who knew the Vedas and Śāstras are very common. ... No inscription has yet come to light showing any close relations between the Buddhists and the Chālukya princes. But that the religion did prevail and that there were many Buddhist temples and monasteries are shown by the account given by Hiuen-tsang. Still there is little question that it was in a condition of decline. The Chālukyas like their predecessors were tolerant towards all religions."[39]

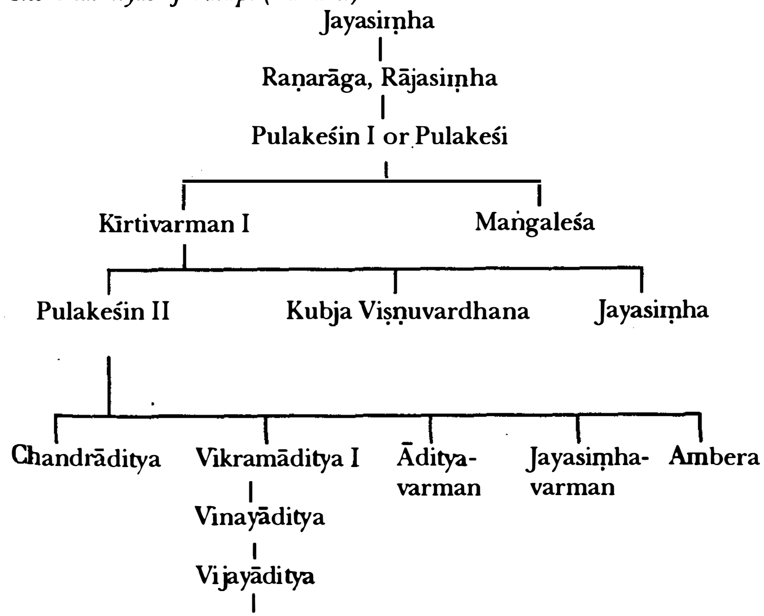
C.V. Vaidya describes, "Dr. Bhandarkar has shown that during the rule of the early Chālukyas Buddhism does not seem to have been prosperous. It was alive no doubt, but it was not the religion of the kings nor generally of the people. Pulakeśin I signalised his reign and supremacy by the performance of the Aśvamedha. The sacrificial lore was also studied and developed under these kings by the learned Brahmins and such learned persons, Dr. Bhandarkar thinks, were specially called Svāmins. ... The revival of sacrificial study can be marked all over the country, for Bāṇa himself states that his parents and uncles were students of Mīmāṃsā. They were called Bhaṭṭas also. ...Undoubtedly orthodox Brahmins in the Deccan as elsewhere at this time employed their intelligence in the refutation of Buddhism, and in the vindication of Vedic sacrifices, and under the sympathetic rule of the early Chālukyas they succeeded in supplanting Buddhism completely.

But the influence of the principle of non-sacrifice was again successful latterly in the spread of Jainism. It appears that the Jainas gained an upperhand among the people as well as in the favour of kings towards the end of the Chālukya rule. ... Vikramāditya II was partial to the Jaina religion. He repaired a Jaina temple and gave a grant of land to a successful Jaina Paṇḍita named Vijaya Paṇḍita who was also called Ekavādi or the only disputant. ... In the days of the early Chālukyas ... Jainism gradually spread among the people and gained favour in royal courts.

Along with the revival of the religion of Vedic sacrifices under the early Chālukyas there was also the revival of the Purāṇic religion viz., the worship of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Sūrya, and the Goddess Devī and of Skanda and temples of these gods were built everywhere during the reign of the early Chālukyas."[40]

GENEALOGY

The Chālukyas of Vātāpi (Bādāmi)[41]



|
Vikramāditya II
|
Kīrtivarman II

REFERENCES

[1]*EHI*, 440. [2]*EHD*, 57. [3]Ibid.; *HAI*, 394-95.
[4]*EHI*, 440. [5]Ibid. [6]*EHD*, 57.
[7]*HAI*, 395. [8]*EHD*, 58.

[9]It is difficult to say with certainty about their exact location. According to Fleet, Naḷavāḍi (modern Bellary and Karnal districts) was the place where the Naḷas used to rule. "They have, however, been recently located in southern Kośala and Bastar state."—*JNSI*, I, 29; *HAI*, 395, fn 5.

[10]*HAI*, 396. [11]*EHD*, 58.

[12]Ibid.; *HMHI*, I, 275: The three Mahārāṣṭrakas viz., Vidarbha, Mahārāṣṭra and Kuntala.

[13]*EHD*, 59 ff; *HAI*, 399. [14]*EHD*, 397.
[15]Ibid., 397-99. [16]Ibid., 399; *JRASNS*, XI, 1879, 165-66; *EHI*, 442.
[17]*EHD*,62, 398; *CSHI*, 119; *HMHI*, 269-70. [18]*HAI*, 400; *HMHI*, I, 270.
[19]*EHD*, 61, 399. [20]Ibid., 399; Watters, II, 239. [21]*EHD*, 61.
[22]Ibid., 63. [23]Ibid., 64. [24]*HAI*, 401.
[25]*EHD*, 65. [26]Ibid., 66; *HMHI*, I, 271. [27]*EHD*, 66.
[28]Ibid. [29]Ibid. [30]*HAI*, 401.
[31]Ibid. [32]Ibid. [33]Ibid., 417.
[34]*HSI*, 433. [35]*HAI*, 401; Watters, II, 239.

[36]*HAI*, 401, fn 2—"The Paṭṭadakal temples, particularly their Vāmanas, were built after the fashion of Pallava architecture."

[37]Ibid., 401-2.

[38]*EHI*, 444, fn 1—"The early Chālukya kings were tolerant of Jainism."

[39]*EHD*, 68. [40]*HMHI*, I, 272-74.

[41]*EHI*, 69, 453; *HMHI*, I, 276; *HSI*, 170.

2. THE CHĀLUKYAS OF KALYĀṆA OR KALYĀṆĪ

Taila or Tailapa I, a member of the old Chālukya dynasty, overthrew Kakka II, the last of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the Deccan in AD 973 and established the dynasty known as that of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī.[1] R.S. Tripathi says that Tailapa belonged to the Chālukyas of Vātāpi. He mentions that R.G. Bhandarkar "considers Tailapa to have sprung from 'quite a collateral and unimportant branch' on the ground that the latter and his successors do not like the earlier Chālukyas, claim Harīti to be their progenitor or represent themselves as belonging to the Mānavya *gotra*."[2] Tailapa was the first ruler of the western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī or Kalyāṇa. He restored to its

former glory the family of his ancestors.[3] He conquered Lāṭa (southern Gujarat). But Mūlarāja Chālukya of Anhilwāḍa captured it.[4] Tailapa conquered Kuntala (the Kanarese country) and defeated the Kalacuris and the Coḷas. Vākpati-Muñja, the Paramāra ruler of Dhārā, who defeated him for more than six times, was killed by the latter.[5] Tailapa reigned for twenty-four years and died in AD 997.

The next ruler was Satyāśraya, who was Tailapa's son. During his rule (*c.* AD 997-1008) Rājarāja I, the Coḷa ruler, attacked his kingdom, killed many people and destroyed his capital. But Satyāśraya, anyhow, managed to save his kingdom from the hands of his enemies. He, however, soon recovered from this terrific blow and even made some successful depredations in the south at the cost of the Coḷas.[6] He was succeeded by his nephew Vikramāditya I (*c.* AD 1008-18). He reigned for a very short time. His successor was Jayasiṃha Jagadekamalla (*c.* AD 1018-40). He defeated Bhoja Paramāra and recovered the lost glory of his family. In AD 1040 Someśvara I Ahavamalla Trailokyanātha succeeded his father. He was a great warrior. He taking advantage of Bhoja's depleted resources on account of constant military activities, not only invaded Mālavā but also destroyed Mandu, Dhārā and Ujjain.[7] After the death of Bhoja, Jayasiṃha claimed the throne of the Paramāra rulers and Someśvara helped him in this matter and placed him on the throne of Mālavā.[8] Thus the relations between the Chālukyas and the Paramāras took a friendly turn enabling Someśvara I to carry his arms further northward.[9] Rājāditya I, the Coḷa ruler, was defeated and killed by the latter.[10] He even plundered Kāñcī, the Coḷa capital. He then turned his attention towards the north. The king of Kānyakubja surrendered to him and Lakṣmī-Karṇa, the Kalacuri ruler, was defeated by him in battle.[11] His army plundered Mithilā, Magadha, Aṅga, Vaṅga and Gauḍa and did not receive any opposition from the Pāla kingdom.[12] But the Kāmarūpa ruler not only resisted their attack but saved his kingdom from their hands. The Chālukya army then went back to the Chālukya kingdom.[13] Someśvara I founded a new capital at Kalyāṇa (modern Kalyāṇī). He died in AD 1069.[14]

In AD 1069 Someśvara II Bhuvanaikamalla ascended the throne after his father Someśvara I. He was tyrannical and distrustful. He ruled for a very short period. The next ruler was Vikramāditya II Tribhuvanamalla (AD 1076-1126). Rama Shankar Tripathi says, "Vikramāditya II was doubtless the most striking personality in the dynasty. After becoming king he directed his energies more towards peace than military adventures. He promoted art and learning, and his court attracted distinguished men from far and near. He was the patron of the celebrated Kashmiri writer, Bilhaṇa who immortalised

his master's exploits in the *Vikramānkadevacarita*, and also of Vijñāneśvara, author of the *Mitākṣara*—an authoritative treatise on Hindu Law...."[15]

After his accession to the throne he fought against the Chālukya rulers of Anhilwāḍa, the Coḷa rulers and the Hoysala ruler Viṣṇuvardhana.

The next ruler was Someśvara III Bhūlokamalla (*c.* AD 1126-38). Like his father, he was a great patron of learning and was the author of the *Mānasollāsa*.[16] He was succeeded by his son Jagadekamalla II (*c.* AD 1138-50). He not only resisted the attack of the Hoysalas, but also subdued them. He attacked Jayavarman Paramāra and occupied a portion of Mālavā and declared war against Kumārapāla of Anhilwāḍa.[17] During the reign of Tailapa II the Chālukya kingdom suffered very much, because his commander-in-chief Vijjala (Bijjala) or Vijjana, who belonged to the Kalacuri race, revolted and captured the greater portion of the Chālukya kingdom of Kalayāṇa.[18] It was under the possession of Vijjala and his sons for some time. The former at first was a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara and Daṇḍanāyaka under Tailapa II.[19] He became very powerful and took the imperial titles. But in AD 1182 Tailapa II's son Vīra Soma or Someśvara IV was able to recover a part of his ancestral dominions from the successors of Vijjala and he reigned up to AD 1189.[20] Probably he died after some time at the hands of the aggressors—the Yādavas of Devagiri and Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra who wanted to capture his kingdom.[21] His capital was at Annigeri in the Dhārvāḍa district.[22]

V.A. Smith gives an account of the religious condition of the Chālukya kingdom of Kalyāṇa. He says, "The brief reign of Vijjala was marked by a religious revolution effected by a revival of the cult of Śiva and the foundation of a new sect, the Vīra Śaivas of Lingāyats, which is a power to this day. Vijjala was a Jain, and, according to one version of the legend, he wantonly blinded two holy men of the Lingāyat sect, and was assassinated in consequence in the year AD 1167. The blood of the saints proved, as usual, to be the seed of the church, which had been founded by Bāsava, the Brahmin minister of Vijjala. But in other legends the tale is told quite differently, and the truth of the matter seems to be past finding out. There is, however, no doubt that the rise of the Lingāyats dated from the time of Vijjala. The members of the sect, who are especially numerous in the Kanarese districts worship Śiva in his phallic form, reject the authority of the Vedas, disbelieve in the doctrine of re-birth, object of child-marriage, approve of the re-marriage of widows, and cherish an intense aversion to Brahmins, notwithstanding the fact that the founder of their religion was himself a Brahmin.

The growth of this new sect, which secured numerous adherents among the trading classes, up to that time the main strength of both Buddhism and Jainsim checked the progress of the latter religion and drove another nail into the coffin of Buddhism, the existence of which in the Deccan is rarely traceable later than the first half of the twelfth century."[23]

Rama Shankar Tripathi describes, "Vijjala's reign has been made memorable by Bāsava, who, besides occupying the exalted office of chief minister, played an important role in the religious history of the period."[24] The latter founded the Lingāyata sect and its followers were called Vīra-Śaivas. They had their sacred works and the *Bāsava Purāṇa* was one of them. They do not uphold the caste system and have got other social and doctrinal differences with orthodox Hinduism.[25] Within a very short time Bāsava's sect became very popular and as a result, Jainism began to decline. Vijjala, who was a devout follower of Jainism did not like the rapid progress of the new sect introduced by Bāsava.

There are inscriptions to show that Buddhism flourished in the kingdom of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa of AD 1021, Akkādevī, the eldest sister of the king is praised for having practised the religious observances enjoined by the rituals of Jina, Buddha, Ananta (Viṣṇu) and Rudra (Śiva).[26] The inscription describes the reign of the Western Chālukya king Jagadekamalla-Jayasiṃha II. Its object is to record that while governing the district known as the Kisukad Seventy, his elder sister Akkādevī, apparently in memory of her elder brother Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya made a grant of the Perur *agrahāra* and caused to be built there "a hall of the Traipuruṣas", the Elders of which granted some land for the purpose of feeding and clothing students. The inscription is of interest in giving the instance of the combined worship of the three gods—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. And we also learn from it that Akkādevī practised the religious observances of Jina and Buddha as well as those of Viṣṇu and Śiva.[27]

The inscription[28] says, "During the reign of the asylum of the universe, the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the Mahārājādhirāja, the Parameśvara, the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, the ornament of the family of Satyāśraya, the glory of the Chālukyas, the glorious Jagadekamalladeva—The eldest sister of that same Cakravartin Jayasiṃha is Akkādevī, who has the epithets of 'she who is charming by reason of her virtues' and 'she whose speech is single and uniform' and who is very 'Bhairavi in battle and in destroying hostile kings'. Her father was the glorious Daśavarmadeva, the Chālukya diamond or thunderbolt; her mother was the virtuous Bhāgaladevī; and her younger brother was the Chakravartin Jayasiṃha. And she has pro-

duced the religious observances prescribed by the rituals of Jina, Buddha, Ananta (Viṣṇu) and Rudra (Śiva).

While she, the glorious Akkādevī, is governing the Kisukad Seventy with the delight of pleasing conversations; (At) the Uttarāyaṇa-Saṃkrānti of the Dundubhi Samvatsara, which is the 944th (year in) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king; and a Vyātipāta; on Sunday, in the absence of her elder brother the glorious Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya, she with reverence allotted the Perur *agrahāra* as a Sarvanamasya-grant, and caused to be made there a hall of the Tripuruṣas, the five hundred Elders of which, for the purpose of feeding and clothing students, gave (one) *mattar* of land, and two *mattars* out of the flower garden, consisting of fifty (*mattars*), belonging to the five hundred houses at Perur.

The four hundred Mahājanas of Perur shall preserve this grant as long as the ocean and the mountains endure. And seeing and honouring the excellence of this pious act of the five hundred, Manneyacaṭṭa, the ornament of the Paṇḍuvaṃśa, gave a manneya grant, to endure as long as the sun."

The Dombal inscription of the reign of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramāditya of AD 1095 was found in the Gadag taluk of the Dhārwāḍ district.[29] It refers to the grant for religious worship and for restoration works to a Buddhist vihāra which was erected in Dombal by 16 *seṭṭhis* (merchants) of the place and for similar purpose to another monastery Lokkiguṇḍi, which was also established by *seṭṭhi*. The invocation to Tārā gives us an idea about the popularity of the Mahāyāna. This inscripton is from a stone-tablet lying near a small ruined Jaina temple in the fort at Dombal in the Gadag taluk of the Dhārwāḍ district. The body of the inscription is of the time of the Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramāditya and is dated in the Yuva Samvatsara the nineteenth year of the Chālukya-Vikramavarṣa established by him and dating from the commencement of his reign Śaka 1017 (AD 1095-6). In connection with the Jaina religion, this inscription is of interest as recording the existence at Dambal of a vihāra or temple of Buddha which had been built by the Seṭṭi Saṃgaveyya of Lokkiguṇḍi or the norhern Lokkuṇḍi. The object of the inscription is to record certain grants to these two vihāras. It is worthy of note that these *seṭṭis*, who built and endowed a Buddha vihāra and who were therefore Jains, belonged to the Vīra-Balañja sect or the class of merchants and traders, by which principally the Liṅgāyat religion of Bāsava was subsequently adopted."[30]

The inscription[31] describes, "Reverence to Buddha! Reverence to thee, O holy Tārā, who dost allay the fear of lions, elephants and fire and hooded snakes and thieves and fetters and water and the ocean and demons, and who dost bear a splendour like that of the rays of the moon! May that Tārā always bless you, who allays the misery of the affliction of existence; who sprang from the churning of the ocean of knowledge; who is called Prajñā; who is the giver of the power of the Buddha; who is the supreme form of perfect wisdom in the three worlds; and who dwells in the heart of Tathāgata, just as the full digit of the moon dwells in the sky.

Hail! while the victorious reign of the glorious Tribhuvanamalladeva, the asylum of the universe; the favourite of the world; the great king; the supreme king; the supreme lord; the most worshipful one; the glory of the family of Satyāśraya; the ornament of the Chālukyas—was continuing with perpetual increase, so as to endure as long as the moon and the sun and stars might last.

Hail! And while the glorious chief queen Lakṣmīdevī ... who was like a second (goddess) Lakṣmī....

Hail! The sixteen *seṭṭis* of the glorious (city of) Dharmavolal—who were endowed with truth and purificatory observances and pleasing conduct and morality and modesty and good character, adorned by innumerable good qualities; who were kindly disposed to learned men; who were purified by water (which had been sanctified by the washing) of the feet of gods and Brahmins. Who were chief friends of good people; who were supporters of excellent people and friends ... gave to the Buddha vihāra which they themselves had caused to be made and in connection with the large vihāra of the holy Śrī Ārya Tārādevī which the Seṭṭi Semgavayya, the Vaḍḍa-Vyavahārī (the city of) Śrī-Lokkiguṇḍi had caused to be made.

Hail! At the time of the sun's commencement of his progress to the north, on Sunday the fifth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Magha of the Yuva Saṃvatsara, which was the nineteenth year of Śrī-Chālukya Vikramavarṣa.

To (the goddess) the holy Tārādevī and to the god Buddha; one *mattar* of garden-land as a *sarvanāmasya* grant, in the field of Ponnakurura to the east of the village and one *aruvana*[32] and three *gadyanas* of gold every year, to be levied as a tax and enjoyed in happiness; for the proper performance of the worship, for the purpose of providing perfumes and flowers and incense and lamps and garlands and the perpetual oblation and other things, for the (support of the) pujārī to provide food and clothes for the religious mendicants of that place and (to pay) for restoration.

They shall preserve this act of religions according to their own religion. May those who preserve this act of religion obtain the reward of fashioning the horns and hoofs of a thousand tawny-coloured cows from gold and silver, and giving them at the time of

the eclipse of the sun to a thousand Brahmins, well-versed in the four Vedas, at Banavāsī, and Kurukṣetra and Prayāga and Arghatīrtha and other holy places. May those who neglect and destroy this act of religion incur the guilt of the five great sins—of having slain a thousand tawny coloured cows or a thousand Brahmins, well-versed in the four Vedas at those same holy *tīrthas*.

Hail! To the vihāra of Buddha which was caused to be built by the sixteen *(seṭṭis)* of (the city of) Dharmavolal, constituting the large (assembly of a) town and being the assembly of people living in many countries on both sides of it who were endowed with truth and purificatory observances and pleasing conduct and morality and modesty, adorned by innumerable good qualities acquired by five hundred strict edicts celebrated over the whole world; who were protectors of the Vīra-Balañja religion, who were decorated with the pure banner of a hill ... who were energetic in disseminating the practice of the Balañja-religion which included the Kṛtayuga and the Tretāyuga and the Dvāparayuga and Kaliyuga—and sprang from the churning of (the religions of the gods) Brahmā and Viṣṇu and Maheśvara; and who were lords of Ayvole which is best of cities,—and to (the vihāra of) the holy Śrī Ārya Tārādevī which had been caused to be built as an act of religion for the people of all countries, by the Seṭṭi Saṃggavayya Śrī-Lokkiguṇḍi—to these two establishments, there was given, to be continued as long as the moon and the sun might last a *pāga* on (each) bag coming from the south and one *(bele)* on (each) bag of ... going to the south.

May those who preserve this act of religion obtain the reward of fashioning the horns and hoofs of a thousand tawny coloured cows from gold and giving them at the times of an eclipse of the sun to a thousand Brahmins, well-versed in the four Vedas at Vārāṇasī, and Kurukṣetra, and Prayāga and Arghatīrtha. May he who neglects and destroys this act of religion (whether to be) an ass of the place or a cāṇḍāla or an outcaste or a Balañjiga ... incur the guilt of the five great sins.

Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sāgara; he, who, for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it! 'This general bridge of piety of kings should at all times be preserved by you'—thus does Rāmabhadra again and again make his request to all future princes. He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as worm in ordure, who takes away land that has been given, whether by himself or by another. Those who may give even a small gift in a charter of Buddha, they shall have great enjoyment and shall be very rich for eighty thousand ages, wheresoever they find a perpetual gift, there they remember it; thus their offering to Buddha, brings a great reward. Whatever religious merit I have acquired and whatever I may acquire,—by that may the condition of myself and of this world be perfected as a condition of Sugata religion."

Someśvara IV was a patron of the Vīra-Śaivas. An inscription dated AD 1184 refers to a feudatory of Vīra Someśvara IV, the Mahā-Maṇḍaleśvara Vīrapuruṣadeva.[33] He is mentioned as a "forest fire of the Jaina religion and a destroyer of the Buddha religion and an establisher of Śiva-Liṅga-Siṃhāsana."

The Jaina work *Acārasāra* was written in Śaka 1076 AD 1154 by Vīranandī.[34] It refers to Buddhism. This clearly shows that in the Kanarese country there were numerous followers of Buddha in Śaka 1076.[35] K.B. Pathak[36] says, "The most interesting fact preserved for us by Vīranandī is that in his time there was a very influential sect of Buddhist mendicants called Ājīvikas, who subsisted on Kāmji and whose intensely severe austerities called forth the admiration of their Jaina contemporaries. Though wanting, as Buddhists, in righteousness as defined in the Jaina scriptures and thus incapable of attaining Nirvāṇa in the Jaina scene, the Ājīvikas were nevertheless considered by the author of the *Ācārasūtra* so great as to be able to reach the heaven called *Sahasrārakalpa* in Jaina cosmography. Vīranandī says, "An ascetic, though practising very severe austerities goes up to the heaven called Brahmakalpa. An Ājīvika, a Bhikṣu of a Buddhist sect, subsisting upon Kāmji, goes up to the heavan called Sahasrārakalpa (in Jaina cosmography)."

The Ājīvikas were well-known to the Jaina authors of the later Chālukya and Yādava periods as a sect of Buddhist Bhikṣus who lived solely or chiefly on Kāmji.... The Jainas have no doubt called them to be a sect of the Buddhist Bhikṣus, as K.B. Pathak has conclusively shown us. But the Buddhists also appear in their turn to have shown to be Nirgranthas, for the latter have actually been once called Ājīvikas in the *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell and Neil, 427). The truth of the matter is that they were neither Buddhists nor Jainas even in much later times, but formed a distinct sect; and consequently Hultzsch is not correct in taking Ājīvikas mentioned in some of the south Indian inscriptions to be Jainas."

K.A. Nilakanta Sastri mentions, "Another sect outside the pale of Hindusim which continued to count some adherents in South India though it had disappeared elsewhere, was that of the Ājīvikas. Founded by Gośāla Maskarīputra, a contemporary of the Buddha and Mahāvīra, this strictly deterministic school was influential in the Maurya period in the north, and Aśoka and his successor Daśaratha presented fine rock-cut caves to it. They believed in an inexorable *niyati* (destiny) which man was unable to counteract. The South

Indian Ājīvika monks practised severe asceticism, and probably influenced by Hinduism and Mahāyāna Buddhism, came to look upon Gośāla as 'an effable divinity'; they also developed the 'view that all change and movement were illusory, and that the world was in reality eternally and immovably at rest'."[37]

R.G. Bhandarkar[38] describes, "During the period occupied by the later Chālukya dynasty and the Kalacuris (AD 973-1188) the old state of things as regards the religious and social condition of the country may be said to have finally disappeared and the new ushered in. First, we have in this period what might be considered the last traces of Buddhism. In the reign of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramāditya II, in the cyclic year Yuvan and the nineteenth of his era (Śaka 1017)[39] sixteen merchants of the Vaiśya caste constructed a Buddhist vihāra or a monastery and temple at Dharmavolal, the modern Dombal in the Dhārwāḍ district and assigned for its support and for the maintenance of another vihāra at Lokkiguṇḍi, the modern Lakkuṇḍi, a field and a certain amount of money to be raised by voluntary taxation.[40] In Śaka 1032[41] the Silhara chief of Kolhāpura constructed a large tank and placed on its margin an idol of Buddha along with those of Śiva, the *arhat* and assigned lands for their support.[42]

Jainism ceased in this period to be the conquering religion that it was, and about the end received an effectual check by the rise of the Liṅgāyata sect. This new creed spread widely among the trading classes which before were the chief supporters of Jainism. There is a tradition in some parts of the country that some of the existing temples contained Jaina idols at one time and afterwards they were thrown out and Brahmanic ones placed instead. This points to a change of feeling with reference to Jainism, the origin of which must be referred to this period.

The worship of the Purānic gods flourished; and during this period the endeavours of the Brahmans and their adherents were for the first time directed towards reducing the civil and religious law to a system or towards its codification as it might be called."

GENEALOGY

The Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa (Kalyāṇī)[43]

Tailapa I (AD 973-97)

Satyāśraya Irivibhujaṅga (AD 997-1008) | Daśavarman or Daśvarman

Vikramāditya I (AD 1008-18) | Ayyana 1018 ? | Jayasiṃha Jagadekamallla (AD 1018-40)

Someśvara I Ahavamalla Trailokyanātha (AD 1040-69)

Someśvara II Bhuvanaikamalla (AD 1069-76) | Vikramāditya II Tribhuvanamalla (AD 1076-1126) | Jayasiṃha | Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya

Someśvara III Bhūlokamalla (AD 1126-38)

Permana Jagadekamalla II (AD 1138-50) | Taila II (AD 1150-63) | Jagadekamalla III (AD 1163-83)

Someśvara IV (AD 1183-1200)

REFERENCES

[1] *EHI*, 446.
[2] *HAI*, 447; *EHD*, 136.
[3] *EHI*, 446.
[4] *HAI*, 418.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid., 419.
[7] Ibid., 421.
[8] Ibid., 420.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid., 420-21.
[11] Ibid., 421.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid., 422.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid., 423-24.
[16] Ibid., 424.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid., 425; *EHI*, 449.
[19] *HAI*, 425.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] *EHI*, 449-50.
[24] *HAI*, 425.
[25] Ibid.
[26] *DBI*, 108; *IA*, XVIII, 270.
[27] *IA*, XVIII, 1889, 271.
[28] Ibid., 274-75.
[29] *DBI*, 108; *IA*, X, 185.
[30] *IA*, X, 1881, 185.
[31] Ibid., 187-89.
[32] One *aruvana* is half a *hena* or *pana*.
[33] *DBI*, 109; *ASIR*, 1929-30, 171.
[34] *IA*, XLI, 1912, 88-89.
[35] Ibid., 88-89; *EHI*, 450, fn I.
[36] *IA*, XLI, 1912, 88-90.
[37] *HSI*, 438.
[38] *EHD*, 105-6.
[39] *AD* 1095.
[40] *EHD*, 105; *IA*, X, 185.
[41] *AD* 1110.
[42] *EHD*, 105; *JBBRAS*, XIII, 4 and *infra*, section XVI.
[43] *EHD*, 106; *HSI*, 206; *MCI*, 73.

3. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa (Mālkheḍ)

From later documents of the Raṣṭrakūṭa dynasty we learn that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas claimed their descent from the race of Yadu.[1] A prince called Raṭṭa was their direct progenitor. His son was Rāṣṭrakūṭa and the family received its name from him.[2] But this has not been accepted by scholars. Fleet suggests that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan sprang from the Rāṭhors (Rāṣṭrakūṭas) of the north.[3] Burnell thinks that they had some connection with Ḍraviḍian Reḍḍis of Andhradeśa.[4] According to Rama Shankar Tripathi, "the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mālkheḍ were descended from the Raṣṭikas or Raṭhikas, who were important enough in the middle of the third century BC to be mentioned along with the Bhojakas and other Aparāntas (people of Western India) in the edicts of Aśoka."[5] Altekar thinks that Karṇāṭaka was the original home of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Kanarese was their mother-tongue.[6] Several epigraphs refer to them as "Laṭṭalūrapura-varādhīśa" i.e., "lords of Laṭṭalūra, the excellent town."[7] This has been identified with Lāṭūr of the Bedar district. Here people speak Kanarese language.[8]

Dantivarman I, Indra I, Govinda I, Kakka I and Indra II were the earliest members of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. They ruled in the latter half of the seventh and the first half of the eighth centuries AD.[9] Dantidurga was regarded as the real founder of this dynasty. It is generally believed that under the leadership of Dantidurga, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas began their career of greatness.[10] He was a man of great importance. He ascended the throne in AD 753.[11] He assumed the imperial titles. In the middle of the eighth century AD he defeated the Chālukya ruler Kīrtivarman II and overthrew him. It seems that this victory made him the sole ruler of all the Chālukya dominions. V.A. Smith states: "the sovereignty of the Deccan passed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, in whose hands it remained for nearly two centuries and quarter."[12] Dantidurga also defeated the rulers of Kāñoī, Kaliṅga, Kośāla (South Kośala), Mālwā (the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler of Ujjain), Lāṭa (Southern Gujarat) Tanka[13] Śrīśaila (Kernul district).[14]

The next ruler was Kṛṣṇa I (c. AD 768-772).[15] He was also known as Akālavarṣa. Śubhatuṅga was also his another name. "By finally overthrowing his nephew's enemy, Kīrtivarman II, Kṛṣṇa I firmly established Rāṣṭrakūṭa supremacy or, as the inscriptions put it, he snatched the goddess of fortune from the Chālukya family and made the boar (the badge of the Chālukyas) flee like a timid deer."[16] After defeating Rāhappa, the powerful ruler, Kṛṣṇa I assumed the imperial titles of Rājādhirāja-Parameśvara.[17] According to some scholars, Rāhappa was Kakkarāja II of the northern branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa

family.[18] He defeated the ruler of the Konkan kingdom and Viṣṇuvardhana IV, the Eastern Chālukya ruler of Veṅgī. The ruler of Gaṅavāḍi (the kingdom of the Gaṅgas) admitted to him.[19] V.A. Smith says, "The reign of Kṛṣṇa I is memorable for the execution of the most marvellous architectural freak in India, the Kailāsa monolithic temple at Elura (Ellore) ... which is by far the most extensive and sumptuous of the rock-cut shrines."[20]

Govinda II succeeded his father Kṛṣṇa I. He reigned for a very short period. He was succeeded by his brother Dhruva or Dhora. He defeated the Gaṅgas, the Pallavas and Vatsarāja, the Gurjara king of Bhinmāl.[21] The next ruler was Govinda III, who was Dhruva's son. He extended his kingdom from the Vindhya mountains and Mālavā in the north to Kāñcī in the south.[22] He was succeeded by his son Amoghavarṣa, who occupied the throne for not less than sixty-two years, was largely spent in constant wars with the Eastern Chālukya rulers of Veṅgi.[23] He is said to have extended his power over the kings of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Magadha.[24] He made Mānyakheṭa (Mālkhed) his capital.

Amoghavarṣa I in his old age became a religious person. Rama Shankar Tripathi states, "The tenets of Jainism, as expounded by his chief preceptor (*paramaguru*), Jinasena, greatly appealed to his heart and intellect; and if the *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha* of Vīrācāra merits credence, Amoghavarṣa I openly turned an adherent of the Syādvāda doctrine. But he did not altogether forsake his catholic sympathies or Hindu attachments, for the Sañjan plates represent him as devout worshipper of the goddess Mahālakṣmī."[25] In his old age he abdicated in favour of his son Kṛṣṇa II and devoted his time and energy to religious practices.[26] V.A. Smith describes, "The Digambara, or naked, sect of the Jainas was liberally patronized by Amoghavarṣa. The rapid progress made by Digambara Jainism late in the ninth and early in the tenth century, under the guidance of various notable leaders, including Jinasena and Guṇabhadra, who enjoyed the favour of more than one monarch, had much to do with the marked decay of Buddhism, which daily lost ground, until it almost wholly disappeared from the Deccan in the twelfth century."[27]

The Kaṇheri inscription[28] of AD 843 belonged to the reign of Amoghavarṣa I. It mentions the gift of various necessaries, the repair of damages and the grant of funds for the purchase of books for the monks by a minister of the Śilāhāra or Śilhāra feudatories of Konkana. Another Kaṇheri inscription of AD 851 was also found there.[29] It describes that a Bengali Gomin resided at Kaṇheri, and had a huge hall of worship erected for the purpose of the worship of the monks belonged to the great monastery of Kṛṣṇagiri (Kaṇheri) in the

south.[30] The third Kaṇheri inscription of AD 877 records that for the necessity of the monks a hall-mansion of meditation was subsequently added.[31] These inscriptions are important no doubt. Because they prove that Buddhism was by no means extinct in western India during the second half of the 9th century AD.[32]

The first Kaṇheri inscription describes, "Oṃ. During the prosperous reign of victory of the (illustrious) sovereign of great kings, the supreme rulers, the lord of the earth (Pṛthvīvallabhaḥ), the illustrious (great ruler) Pullaśakti is governing Purī and (all) the other parts of Konkana country—(Pullaśakti) who (remembers) the great feudatory, the revered the illustrious Kapardin, the lord of Konkana (Konkanaballabha) (obtained) by him through the grace of Amoghavarṣa—the old minister and devoted servant of (Pullaśakti), Viṣṇu(...) may fortune (be propitious to him); the son of the illustrious Hari (the superintendent ...) after having made obeisance to the illustrious worshipped community at the famous mount of Kṛṣṇa, ... out of great kindness twenty (Drammas for the repair of what may be damaged or ruined here in this monastery). For clothes, of the worshipful community five (Drammas) shall be expanded, (for books one Dramma). The perpetual endowment (amounts to) forty (Drammas), forty, (and) a hundred and twenty Drammas (in gold). The disposition (as to the expenditure) of the Drammas should be guarded like wife (and children). In the year (765)."[33]

The second Kaṇheri inscription[34] says, "Oṃ! Hail! on Wednesday, the second of the dark half of Aśvina in the Prajāpati year, when some hundred seventy-five years in figures too 775 years, of the era of the Śaka kings had passed, on the aforesaid (second) lunar day of the said half the said month and year; during the prosperous reigns of victory of the supreme lord, the sovereigns of great kings, the supreme ruler, the illustrious king Amoghavarṣa (Amoghavarṣadeva)—who remembers the supreme lord (Paramabhaṭṭāraka), the sovereign of great kings, the supreme ruler, the revered illustrious king Jagattuṅga (Jagattuṅgadeva), chief among the great feudatories, who has attained five titles commencing with 'great' and who remembers of revered illustrious Pullaśakti, chief among the great feudatories, who had attained the five titles commencing with 'great', the lord of the whole Konkana (Konkana Vallabha) graciously granted to him by (Amoghavarṣa)—the Gomin Avighnākara, a devout worshipper of Sugata, come hither, from the Gauḍa country, have had mansions (suitable) for meditation built at this great monastery of the famous mount of Kṛṣṇa and have given as a perpetual endowment one hundred Drammas (from the interest of which the monks) shall receive clothes. And this perpetual endowment is for my own use so long as I live. On my death competent persons shall fix the interest, which shall necessarily be given (for the above mentioned purpose). None should seek to obstruct thus. He who should (wrongfully) appropriate (any part of the capital or interest) will be born again in the Avīci, Paritāpa, Kuṃbhīpaka and other hells; verily he shall have for his food the flesh of cows vomitted forth by dogs. The deed has been approved of in the presence of the worshipful community has been confirmed; and has afterwards been caused to be written. Witnesses thereof are the Pāttiyāṇaka named Yoga and the Ācāryas of Cikhyallapallikā—Religious merit to (the donor and) and witnesses.

Oh, Oh, heavenly Buddha! (Let) fortune (attend). Never are worthy recipients those who wrong the beings. To him, whose conduct is good, will I give; he may approach as a worthy recipient. To him verily shall be given, because sin is not found in him.

Whatever in the above may be deficient in letters, whatever may contain too many letters, all has authority."

The third Kaṇheri inscription mentions: "Oṃ! Hail! When seven hundred and ninety-nine in figures 799—years of the era of Śaka kings had passed; during the prosperous reign of victory of the sovereign of great kings, the supreme ruler, the illustrious king Amoghavarṣa (Amoghavarṣadeva); during the prosperous rule of the illustrious Kapardin, chief among the great feudatories, the lord of Konkana (Konkana-Vallabha) graciously granted to him by (Amoghavarṣa)—Viṣṇu—may fortune be propitious to him. Gave one hundred Drammas to the monks of the worshipful community dwelling at the great monastery of the famous mount of Kṛṣṇa, and caused to be built in the ground a hall mansion suitable for meditation, where (the monks) shall receive clothes and other (gifts). Out of compassion with the worshipful monks this (hell and the endowment connected therewith) shall be preserved so long as the moon and the sun and the other (luminaries) retain their brilliancy. He who should fail to preserve them will be guilty of the five sins which carry with them immediate retribution and shall suffer great pain in the Avīci and the other (hells).

This deed has been approved of in the presence of the worshipful community, has been confirmed, and has afterwards been caused to be written. Witnesses thereof are the Ācārya Dharmākaramitra, the Gomin Avighnākara (and) the Pattiyānakayoga.

May we be save through religious merit. May fortune attend."[35]

The language of all these inscriptions is in Sanskrit. They refer to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Amoghavarṣa I, his vassal Pullaśakti the Śilāhāra chief of Konkana and the latter's successor Kapardin.[36]

Amoghavarṣa was succeeded by his son Kṛṣṇa II, who was also known as Akālavarṣa or Śrī-Vallabha. He came into conflict with the Eastern Chālukya rulers of Veṅgī and Mihira Bhoja.[37] The next ruler was Indra III Nityavarsha.[38] He was a successful warrior. He destroyed the city Mahodaya (Kanauj) and curbed the pride of its rulers.[39] He dethroned Mahīpāla, king of Pañcāla. The next ruler was Amoghavarṣa II. He was succeeded by Govinda IV. After him Baddiga or Vaddiga Amoghavarṣa III occupied the throne. He was succeeded by his son Kṛṣṇa III Akālavarṣa. He was regarded as the last powerful ruler of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. He fought with the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Mahīpāla and captured Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa from his possession.[40] He also conquered Kāñcī and Tanjore. He defeated the Coḷa ruler Rājāditya, son of Parantaka I in the famous battle of Takkolam (near Arkoham, North Arcot district) in AD 949.[41] He subdued the Pāṇḍyas and the Keralas and even the king of Siṃhala also honoured him by paying homage to him.[42]

The next ruler was Khoṭṭiga or Khotika Nityavarṣa. During his reign the fortunes of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas sank to so low a level that their capital Mānyakheṭa was pillaged by the Paramāra Sīyaka-Harṣa of Mālavā.[43] Kakka II or Kakkala or Amoghavarṣa IV was the last of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings. Taila or Tailapa II of the Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmi overthrew him and founded the Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇa.[44]

From R.G. Bhandarkar's account we learn that Paurāṇic Hinduism flourished in the Deccan during the rule of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism prospered under the patronage of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers.[45] But Buddhism became prominent during the rule of Amoghavarṣa I. R.G. Bhandarkar says, "That the princes of this race were very powerful there can be little doubt. The rock-cut temples at Eluru still attest their power and magnificence. Under them the worship of the Purāṇic gods rose into much greater importance than before. The days when kings and princes got temples and monasteries cut out of the solid rock for the use of the followers of Gotama Buddha had gone by, never to return. Instead of them we have during their period temples excavated or constructed on a more magnificent scale and dedicated to the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu. Several of the grants of these Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes praise their bounty and mention their having constructed temples. Still, as the Kaṇheri inscriptions of the reign of Amoghavarṣa I show Buddhism had its votaries and benefactors, though the religion had evidently sunk into unimportance. Jainism, on the other hand, retained the prominence it had acquired during the Chālukya period or even made greater progress. Amoghavarṣa was, as we have seen, favourably disposed towards it, and some of the minor chiefs and the lower castes, especially the traders were its devoted adherents. The form of Jainism that prevailed in the country was mostly that professed by the Digambara sect."[46]

Rama Shankar Tripathi mentions the development of Paurānic Hinduism in the kingdom of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers. He describes, "During the age of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Paurānic Hinduism, specially the worship of Viṣṇu and Śiva, grew popular in the Dekkan. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa copperplate grants begin with invocations to both these deities, and their seal is either Garuḍa, the *Vāhana* (vehicle) of Viṣṇu or *Śiva* seated in an attitude of yoga. We hear of the performance of Brahmanical sacrifices (for instance, Dantidurga celebrated the Hiraṇyagarbha at Ujjayini) and also of Tulādānas, i.e., gifts of gold equal to one's weight, by the Royalty. Temples were constructed to house images, which were daily worshipped with an elaborate ritual. Unhappily, however, excepting the rock-cut shrine of Śiva at Ellora—an architectural wonder—richly endowed by Kṛṣṇa I, no other important monument of this period is extant. Besides Hinduism, other faiths also flourished. Jainism was patronised by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers like Amoghavarṣa I and Indra IV, and even Kṛṣṇa II and Indra III are recorded to have honoured it. But Buddhism had definitely declined, and according to certain inscriptions of the time of Amoghavarṣa I its chief centre in the Dekkan was Kaṇheri."[47]

K.A. Nīlakānta Śāstrī says, "In the north-west of the Deccan, new vihāras were coming up on behalf of Buddhism late in the ninth century."[48]

Pandit Bisheshwar[49] Nath Reu describes: "In the earliest copper-grants of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Abhimanyu an image of lion, of Dantivarman (Dantidurga II), of Śaka 675 (VS 810-AD 753), there is the impression of an image of 'Śiva'. In the coins of Kṛṣṇarāja I, his title is mentioned as 'Parama-Maheśvara' and in his inscription of Śaka 5 (VS 825-AD 768), there is an impression of Śiva-linga. But of the copper-grants of the later dates some bear the impression of an image of a 'Garuḍa', while others of 'Śiva'.

The flag of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas was called the 'Pālidhvaja' and they were known as 'oka ketu'. Their coat of arms contained the signs of the Ganges and the Jumnā, probably copied from the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi.

The family deity of the later Rāṣṭrakūṭas is known by the names of Lāṭāṇā (Lāṭāṇā), 'Rāṣṭrasyānā', 'Manasā', or 'Vindhyavādinī'. It is said that as this goddess having incarnated as a falcon, had saved their kingdom, she became known by the name of 'Rāṣṭrasyānā'. From the above it appears that the kings of this dynasty from time to time used to observe the 'Śaiva', the 'Vaiṣṇava' and the 'Śākta' religions.

The *Uttara Purāṇa* contains that king Amoghavarṣa having bowed before the Jaina priest Jinasena congratulated himself. This shows Amoghavarṣa was the follower of the teachings of Jinasena."

GENEALOGY

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa (Mālkhed)[50]

- Dantivarman or Dantivarmma
  - Indra I
    - Govinda I
      - Karka, Karkka, Kakka I
        - Indra II
          - Daṇtidurga (*c.* AD 753)
        - Kṛṣṇa I Akālavarṣa (*c.* AD 768-72)
          - Govinda II (AD 772-79)
          - Dhruva, Nirupama or Dharavarṣa (AD 779-93)
            - Kambha, Śambha, Ranavaloka
            - Govinda III, Jagattuṅga I, Jagadrudra or Pravutavarṣa (*c.* AD 873-914)
              - Amoghavarṣa I or Sarva (AD 814-77)
                - Kṛṣṇa II or Akālavarṣa (AD 877-913)
                  - Jagattuṅga II
                    - Indra III (AD 915-17)
                      - Amoghavarṣa II (AD 917-18)
                      - Govinda IV (AD 918-34)
                    - Baddiga, Vaddiga or Amoghavarṣa II (AD 934-39)
                      - Kṛṣṇa III or Akālavarṣa (AD 939-68)
                        - Son
                          - Indra IV
                      - Khottika or Khottiga (AD 968-72)
                      - Nirupama
                        - Kokkala, Karka II (AD 972-73)
            - Indra
              - Karka
              - Govinda
              - (Gujarat branch)

REFERENCES

[1] *HAI*, 403.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.; *BG*, I, pt. II, 384.
[4] *HAI*, 403; *SIP*, X.
[5] *HAI*, 403.
[6] Ibid., 404; *RT*, 19-21.
[7] *HAI*, 404.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid., 404-5; *CSHI*, 122.
[10] *HAI*, 404-5.
[11] *CSHI*, 122.
[12] *EHI*, 443.
[13] Not identified.
[14] *HAI*, 405.
[15] Ibid.
[16] *CSHI*, 123.
[17] *HAI*, 405.
[18] *CSHI*, 123.
[19] *HAI*, 406.
[20] *EHI*, 445.
[21] Ibid.; *CSHI*, 123.
[22] *EHI*, 445.
[23] Ibid.
[24] *HAI*, 409.
[25] Ibid., 410; *EI*, XVIII, 248, 255, v. 47. "Amoghavarṣa is called in this verse Vīra-Nārāyaṇa."
[26] *EHI*, 446; *CSHI*, 123.
[27] *EHI*, 446.
[28] *DBI*, 107; *IA*, XIII, 184; *HSI*, 437.
[29] *DBI*, 107; *IA*, 184; *HSI*, 438.
[30] *DBI*, 107; *IA*, 437.
[31] *DBI*, 108; *IA*, 437.
[32] *IA*, XIII, 1884, 133.
[33] Ibid., 139.
[34] Ibid., 135.
[35] Ibid., 136-37.
[36] Ibid., 133.
[37] *HAI*, 411.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid., 412.
[40] *HAI*, 413.
[41] Ibid., 414.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid., 415.
[44] Ibid.; *EHI*, 446.
[45] *HSI*, 433.
[46] *EHD*, 81-82.
[47] *HAI*, 416-17.
[48] *HSI*, 437.
[49] *HR*, 34-35.
[50] *EHI*, 454; *EHD*, 84; *HSI*, 210; *MCI*, 67.

4. THE YĀDAVA DYNASTY OF DEVAGIRI

The Yādavas claimed their descent from the race of Yadu to which Lord Kṛṣṇa, the great *Mahābhārata* hero belonged.[1] It is generally accepted that the Yādavas established themselves as members of a feudatory family when the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa (Kalyāṇī) came into power in the Deccan.[2] But

when the latter declined, the Yādavas became prominent. They gradually strengthened their position and founded a kingdom.[3] V. A. Smith says that "the territory which they acquired, lying between Devagiri (Daulatābad) and Nāsik, was known as Sevana or Seuna."[4]

Bhillama occupied an important place in the history of the Yādava dynasty. He came into conflict with Someśvara IV, the ruler of the Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇa and captured the northern and eastern territories of the latter's kingdom in AD 1187.[5] He founded the city of Devagiri (modern Daulatabad in Andhra Pradesh).[6] But he was killed by Vīra Ballāla I Hoysala in AD 1197.[7] The next ruler was Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla (c. AD 1191-1210). He is said to have killed Rudradeva, the lord of the Tailaṅgas (Tri Kaliṅgas).[8] He was succeeded by his son Siṅghaṇa (c. AD 1210-47). He was regarded as the most powerful ruler of this dynasty. He was the most energetic personality in the Yādava line.[9] He captured the Śilāhāra kingdom of Kolhāpur. He was successful against Vīra-Ballāla II Hoysala and extended his territory beyond the Kṛṣṇa. He also invaded Gujarat and became successful against Arjunavarman of Mālwā and Jajalla, the Cedī ruler of Chattīsgarh.[10] After his military expeditions and his successful achievements he practically founded a kingdom which rivalled the kingdoms of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa.[11]

Siṅghaṇa was succeeded by Kṛṣṇa or Kaṇhara (c. AD 1247-60), who was his grandson. His name implies that he was a worshipper of Lord Kṛṣṇa. He was a follower of Brahmanism and played a vital part for its development in his kingdom. Amalānanda's *Vedānta-Kalpataru*, a Vedānta commentary was written during his reign.[12] The next ruler was Mahādeva (c. AD 1260-71). He conquered northern Konkan and subdued the rulers of Karṇāṭa and Lāṭa.[13] He was succeeded by Rāmachandra (c. AD 1271-1309). It is known that during the reigns of Mahādeva and Rāmachandra, the Brahman minister and the celebrated Sanskrit writer, Hemādri, who was also known as Hemādpant, flourished.[14] He devoted himself to the systematic redaction of Hindu religious practices and observances, and with this object compiled important works upon Hindu sacred Law.[15] He became well-known for his valuable contribution to Hindu Dharmaśāstra. Rāmachandra patronised saint Jñāneśvara, who was an author of a Marāṭhī commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*.[16]

In AD 1294 Ala-ud-din Khilji, who was then Sultan of Delhi, invaded Devagiri and destroyed the city. Then peace was made and Rāmachandra paid him 600 maunds of pearls, two maunds of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, saphires, etc., 1,000 of silver, 4,000 pieces of silk and other precious articles, and promised him an annual tribute to Delhi.[17] But when it was not regularly paid, Ala-ud-din's general Malik Kafur captured Devagiri in AD 1307.[18] Again peace was made

and Rāmachandra paid him tribute. He was succeeded by his son Śaṅkara in AD 1309.[19] But the latter was killed by Malik Kafur in AD 1312 for not paying any tribute to Delhi.[20] Rāmachandra's son-in-law Harapāla revolted against the Muhammedans but he was killed by the orders of Sultan Mubārak.[21] This brought the end of the Yādava dynasty.

The Yādavas were undoubtedly the followers of the Brahmanical religion. If they claimed their descent from the race of Yadu to which Lord Kṛṣṇa belonged, then it is quite certain that they were devout worshippers of Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu which was his another name. From it we conclude that they were Vaiṣṇavas. Several rulers of this dynasty were Kṛṣṇa, Mahādeva, Rāmachandra, Śaṅkara and Harapāla. These names suggest that they were followers of Brahmanism. Nothing is known about Buddhism from any record of this kingdom.

G. Yazdani observes, "Of the three main religions of ancient India, Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism, the last mentioned practically ceased to exist during the Yādava period. There are neither sculptures nor paintings nor inscriptions to show that either Kāṇheri or Ajantā were active centres of Buddhism during our period. One Buddhist establishment existed at Dambal in the Karṇāṭaka during the 11th century AD, it is, however, very doubtful whether it continued into the time of the Yādavas.

The spirit of toleration and harmony that had existed in Hindu society since early times continued to manifest itself also in Yādava period. A Deccan record of this period which describes the supreme spirit as being at one and the same time Śiva, Brahmadeva, Viṣṇu, Jina and the Buddha gives us a glimpse into the religious outlook of the age, which regarded even the founders of the heterodox faiths as so many incarnations of the one Supreme spirit.

The Yādavas were orthodox Hindus but extended patronage to the followers of the new religion as well as to those of their own faith."[22]

O.P. Verma describes, "As we survey the religious life of the people under the Yādavas, we are confronted with three great religious currents, those of Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Jainism. As for Buddhism, it was never very strong in the Deccan and Karṇāṭaka after the middle of the eighth century AD. It would thus appear that Hinduism and Jainism divided between themselves the religious population of the Deccan. But though the currents were three, the under currents were many. The Mahānubhāvas, the Nāthas, the Varakaris and the Vīra-Śaivites were all but different sects of Hinduism dominating the religious life of the people. The existence of these, however, did not affect the religious harmony. On the contrary, it united them and

breathed into them the spirit of communal harmony that was so characteristic of the religious life under the Yādavas, as it was indeed of other periods of Hindu history.

The Yādava rulers were themselves eclectic in their religious outlook. According to the *Nāsikakalpa* of Jinaprabhāsūri, Dṛḍhaprahāra, the founder of the Yādava family, was a devotee of Candraprabhāsvāmin (the eighth Tīrthaṅkara). ...A large number of religious symbols were used as ornamental devices on the copper-plates and stone inscriptions of the Yādava period. Those which occur frequently are a conch-shell, *liṅga*, a priest, a cow and a calf, the sun and the moon, a bull, Garuḍa with folded hands, Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī, a *kalaśa*, a closed umbrella, an ascetic's water-pot or a sacrificial ladle. All these devices have been adopted ostensibly to placate the religious susceptibilities of the people living in different regions.

The Viṣṇu worship was very popular during the Yādava period. Adoption of Garuḍa as an emblem on the royal standards and the seals indicate that the personal religion of the Yādava rulers was Vaiṣṇavism. This was also in conformity with the origin which the dynasty traced from Viṣṇu. But the Vaiṣṇavism of the Yādava period was very different from the original one, as it was divorced from sacrificial rites and philosophic speculation and was turned more towards devotion. The Vaiṣṇavism of the Yādava period witnessed an unprecedented *bhakti* movement which had a tremendous effect on the hearts and minds of thousands of worshippers of Viṣṇu.

The deities that were worshipped in the temples were Śiva, Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Sūrya, Bhavānī, Lakṣmī, Narasiṃha and their different forms. Of the Śaivite schools, the one which flourished in the Karṇāṭaka region during the twelfth century AD was that of Vīra-Śaivism, known more popularly as the Liṅgāyatas or Liṅgāvanta sect.

Jainism was a dominant religion of Karṇāṭaka during the Yādava period. It guided the destinies of a number of powerful and well-known families.... Besides receiving royal patronage, the Jaina leaders of the period were shrewd enough to lay a firm foundation of their hold over the middle and trading classes of society. Recruiting followers from these classes, the Jaina monks kept constant contact with the people and thus were able to build up a solid organisation of Jaina laymen."[23]

GENEALOGY

The Yādava rulers of Devagiri[24]

Bhillama
Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla (*c.* AD 1191-1210)

Siṅghaṇa (*c.* AD 1210-47)
Kṛṣṇa or Kaṇhara (*c.* AD 1247-60)
Mahādeva (*c.* AD 1260-71)
Rāmachandra (*c.* AD 1274-1309)
Śaṅkara (*c.* AD 1309-12)
Harapāla—the son-in-law

REFERENCES

[1]*HAI*, 426. [2]Ibid. [3]Ibid.
[4]*EHI*, 451. [5]*HAI*, 426; *CSHI*, 127. [6]*HAI*, 426; *CSHI*, 127.
[7]*HAI*, 426-27; *CSHI*, 127. [8]*HAI*, 427; *CSHI*, 127.
[9]*HAI*, 427. [10]Ibid.; *EHI*, 451-52. [11]*HAI*, 427; *CSHI*, 452.
[12]*HAI*, 428. [13]Ibid. [14]Ibid.; *EHI*, 452.
[15]*EHI*, 452. [16]*HAI*, 428. [17]Ibid., 429.
[18]Ibid. [19]Ibid. [20]Ibid.
[21]Ibid. [22]Yazdani, 563-64. [23]Verma, 294-330.
[24]*HAI*, 426-29; *EHD*, 131.

5. THE KĀKATĪYAS OF WARANGAL

At first the Kākatiyas were feudatories of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. But when the latter declined they became very pominent in Teliṅgānā.[1] Anmakoṇḍa (or Hunamakoṇḍa) was the earlier capital of the Kākatīya government but after sometimes they fixed their capital at Wārangal (or Orungallu).[2] Prolarāja occupied a prominent place in the history of the Kākatīya dynasty.[3] He came into conflict with the Western Chālukyas and he reigned for a very long time. The next ruler was Rudra or Pratāparudra.[4] He was succeeded by his younger brother Mahādeva.[5] Gaṇapati was the latter's son. He succeeded his father in AD 1199.[6] He was a powerful ruler of this dynasty, and he reigned for sixty-two years. He led expeditions against the kings of Coḷa, Kaliṅga, Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa and Vaḷanāḍu and he became successful.[7] Gaṇapati had no son. That is why, his daughter Rudrāṃbā succeeded him in AD 1261.[8] She ruled for thirty years. Then her grandson Pratāparudradeva ascended the throne.[9] When Malik Kafur attacked his kingdom, he submitted to him. In course of time the Bāhmani Sultans of the Deccan occupied the kingdom of the Kākatīyas, who then probably went to Bastar to establish a small principality there.[10]

G. Yazdani says, "Śaivism was the predominant faith during the Kākatīya period. Of the many school of Śaivism like the Kālamukha, the Kapālika, the Śaiva, the Pāśupata, etc., the last mentioned gradually gained the upperhand, eventually securing the favour of the

majority of the common people as well as that of the kings inspite of the predominance enjoyed by the Kālamukha doctrine at the beginning of the Kākatīya period...."[11] Not only Śaivism, Jainism and Vaiṣṇavism also prospered in the Kākatīya kingdom under the patronage of the rulers.[12]

GENEALOGY

The Kākatīyas of Warangal[13]

- Beta I (AD 1000-30)
- Prola I (AD 1030-75)
- Tribhuvanamalla Beta II (AD 1075-1110)
- Prola II or Prolarāja (AD 1117-18)
- Pratāparudra (AD 1160-96)
- Mahādeva (AD 1196-99)
- Gaṇapati (AD 1199-1262)
- Rudrāṃbā (AD 1261-96)
- Mummadāṃbā or Mahādeva
- Pratāparudradeva (AD 1296-1326)

REFERENCES

[1]*HAI*, 430.	[2]Ibid.	[3]Ibid.
[4]Ibid.	[5]Ibid.	[6]Ibid.
[7]Ibid.	[8]Ibid.	[9]Ibid.
[10]Ibid.	[11]Yazdani, 704.	[12]Ibid., 711.
[13]*HAI*, 430-31; *HSI*, 226.		

6. THE ŚĪLĀHĀRAS

The Śīlāhāras or Śilāras claimed their descent from Jimūtavāhana, king of the Vidyādharas.[1] From a tradition it is known that he, instead of a serpent, offered himself to Garuḍa as his food.[2]

Tagara or Ter was regarded as the original home of the Śīlāhāra family.[3] One of the oldest branches of this dynasty reigned in South Konkan from the last quarter of the eighth century AD to the middle of the eleventh century AD.[4] At first they established themselves at Goa and then they fixed their capital at Khardpatan.[5] Another family ruled over Northern Konkan from the beginning of the ninth century AD.[6] Thānā was their chief city. The third family began to rule in Kolhāpur and the districts of Satārā and Belgaum in the beginning of the eleventh century AD.[7] Kolhāpur or Panhālā was their capital.

They brought also Southern Konkan under their rule. Gandarāditya, Vijayarka or Vijayāditya and Bhoja were important rulers of this dynasty.[8] Gandarāditya ascended the throne after Bhoja I. "He claims to be the undisputed king of Konkan. During the rule of Gandarāditya, the Śilāhāra ruler of Thānā, Aparārka I was ousted from his patrimony by Jayakeśin of Goa. A record of Vijayāditya's time, son of Gandarāditya, states that he had reinstated the fallen lord of Sthānaka or Thānā ...."[9] Gandarāditya took keen interest in executing works of public utility. He invited a hundred thousand Brāhmaṇas at Prayāg near Kolhāpur 'where the Kaśari and the Kumbhi join to give rise to the Pañcagaṅgā'.[10]

Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism flourished side by side under the patronage of the Śīlāhāra rulers. Kaṇheri was an important centre of Buddhism and the Buddhist monks who belonged to this place, used to get help from royal officers for the maintenance of their monasteries. The Kaṇheri inscription of AD 843[11] refers to the gift of various necessaries, the repair of damages and the grant of funds for the purchase of books for the Buddhist monks by a minister of the Śīlāhāra feudatories of Konkan. Jainism became very popular in the Kolhāpur district. From several records of the Śīlāhāras of Kolhāpur one learns that kings and commoners made grants for the support of Jain establishments. The Śīlāhāras were followers of Hinduism. The Thānā House was a Śaivite no doubt. Because one may conclude it from the construction of the Ambarnāth temple.[12] The Kharepatan plates of Anantadeva say that "they held in specially high reverence Somanāth at Prabhāsa."[13] The Kolhāpur rulers were devout worshippers of Ambābai.[14] But they showed their liberal religious policy. They allowed other religions to flourish in their territories. The Miraj grant of the Śīlāhāra ruler, Gandarāditya of Saka 1032-AD 1110 not only refers to the construction of temples of Mahādeva (Śaṅkara), Jina and the Buddha on the bank of the lake Gaṇḍasāgara or the Gaṇḍasamudra, but also describes grant of land to each of the three gods mentioned above.[15] The inscription says[16]: "His younger brother the illustrious Gaṇḍarāditya was long glorious in the world, whose sole attention being directed to destroying hideous darkness consisting of a host of wicked kings (his) adversaries; ... King Gaṇḍarāditya has risen augmenting royal glory, lord of Kecaras (demi-gods), always annihilating darkness his enemies, his hands like beautiful lotuses; to whom a member of the learned bow down; always rising; whose manifest splendour is followed by the people; not devoted to selfishness; king Gandarāditya full of splendour, imparts daily undiminished profuse lustre to this earth all around.

He granted three *nivartanas* (of land) one to each, to three gods, Mahādeva, Buddha and *arhat*—set up by him in the vicinity of a tank, Gaṇḍasamudra, built by him in the village of Irukudi, situated in the district of Miraj. Gave four *vṛttis* to Mulika (hereditary village officer) of the village of Gudālaya. One for the God Guḍaleśvara for everlasting lights, for continuing the fire in the fireplace, for supplying water from a cistern, and for the distribution of betel-nut and leaves. Continued one *nivartana* which was well-known before (as assigned) for the worship of the God Guḍaleśvara. Preserved half *nivartana* which was celebrated before the worship of Mahādeva, installed to the west of that village. In this manner, by gifts of various lands, he gave with a grant, by pouring water, the village surrounded by rows of trees (to be enjoyed) by sons and grandsons as long as the moon and stars endure .... While the sun, moon, the sky and stars endure, may this grant of the illustrious Śilāhāra be victorious."

This gives us indication that Gandarāditya had great religious faith for all religions flourished in his kingdom. It also throws flood of light on the prevalence of Buddhism in the kingdom of Gandarāditya in the first half of the twelfth century AD. The Śilāhāras also assumed the title of "Śrīmān Mahālakṣmī-labdhavara-prasāda", i.e., "one who has obtained the favour of a moon from the glorious Mahālakṣmī" who was thus their tutelary deity.[17] This also indicates that they were followers of the Paurāṇic and Vedic religion. In the Śilāhāra period several temples of Śiva, Sūrya, Ambābai, Jina and the Buddha were constructed. There are references to these deities in the Śilāhāra records.

GENEALOGY

The Śilāhāras[18]

- Jatiga I
  - Nayimma
    - Chandrarāja
      - Jatiga II (AD 1000-1020)
        - Gomaka
          - Maramasiṃha (AD 1058-75)
            - Guvala II (1075-86)
            - Ballala (AD 1086-95)
            - Bhoja I (1095-1110)
            - Gandarāditya (AD 1110-40)
              - Vijayārka, Vijayāditya (AD 1140-75)
                - Bhoja II
        - Guvala I
        - Kīrtirāja
        - Chandrāditya

REFERENCES

[1] *HAI*, 431. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid. [5] Ibid. [6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid. [8] Ibid.
[9] *IC*, II, 3, January, 1936, 423. [10] Ibid.
[11] *BBI*, 107; *IA*, XIII, 1884, 133-37; *IC*, II, 3, January, 1936, 427.
[12] *IC*, II, 3. January, 1936, 427. [13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid. [15] Ibid., 428; *DBI*, 115; *JBBRAS*, XII, 7.
[16] *JBBRAS*, XIII, 1877, 1 ff. [17] *EHD*, 136.
[18] *EHD*, 137; *IC*, II, 3, January, 1936, 419.

7. THE KADAMBAS

The Kadambas ruled over the west of Mysore from the fourth century AD to the sixth century AD together with Haiga (North Kāṇarā) and Tuluva (South Kāṇarā).[1] "They were of Mysorean origin, and are identified with Banavāsī as their capital which is on the west frontier of the Sorab taluk an ancient city mentioned as one of the places to which Aśoka sent a mission in the third century BC, and also by Ptolemy in the second century AD. Its Brahmanical name was Jayanti or Vaijayanti. In later times Banavāsī, or Banavāse, as it is often spelt, corresponded more or less with the Shimoga district.

The origin of the Kadamba family is mixed up with various legendary stories centering in a Mukkaṇṇa or Trinetra and a Mayūravarmma. The former, also called Jayanta Trilocana, is described as their progenitor, and as a son of Śiva and Pārvatī. The country being at the time without a king, he is said to have obtained the throne on being spontaneously wreathed by a state elephant, an indication of his royal destiny. Mayūravarmma, apparently of the fourth generation after him, seems to have established the family in power, and is hence also at times regarded as their founder."[2]

The Kadambas were Brāhmaṇas and they belonged to the Mānavya *gotra*.[3] Rāma Shankar Tripathi states that "although Brāhmaṇas, the Kadambas did not discourage Jainism, which, along with Śaivism prospered under their rule".[4] A Brahman named Mayūraśarman was the founder of this dynasty.[5] He established his small principality in Karṇāṭaka in the middle of the fourth century AD and Banavāsī was its capital.[6] It is said that "the family had growing near their house a Kadamba tree, of which they took special care, and thus became known as the Kadambas."[7]

Mayuraśarman's successors were Kaṅgavarman, Bhāgīratha, and Raghu.[8] The latter was succeeded by Kakusthavarman, who was his brother.[9] He was regarded as the greatest of the early Kadamba rulers.[10] During his rule "the Kadamba dominion and influence grew considerably."[11] His successor was his son Śāntivarman. "He was a ruler of great fame and much personal charm."[12] He ruled over an extensive empire and his brother Kṛṣṇavarman governed the southern portion as viceroy.[13] Mṛgeśavarman ascended the throne in AD 475.[14] He came into conflict with the Gaṅgas and the Pallavas, and he became successful. The next ruler was Ravivarman. He reigned in the first half of the sixth century AD.[15] He fixed his capital at Halsi in the Belgaum district. His son was Harivarman. He was the last member of the main branch of the Kadamba dynasty.[16] At that time the Chālukyas of Vātāpi played a vital role in the political history of the Deccan. They came into conflict with the Kadambas. The Chālukya ruler Pulakeśin I captured the northern portion of the Kadamba kingdom. Another Chālukya ruler Pulakeśin II not only curbed the pride of the Kadambas but also subdued them. The Gaṅgas took the southern portion of the Kadamba kingdom. Though the main branch of the Kadambas disappeared, but after the fall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power, several Kadamba rulers became prominent in the last quarter of the tenth century AD.[17] They probably belonged to the different Kadamba branches and reigned in various parts of the Deccan and Konkan upto the end of the thirteenth century AD.[18] It is generally believed that Hangal in the Dhārwāḍa district and Goa were important centres of the Later Kadambas.[19]

GENEALOGY

The Kadambas[20]

- Mukkaṇṇa, Trinetra, Trilocana
  - Madhukeśavara
    - Mallinātha
      - Candravarmma I
        - Candravarmma II
          - Mayūraśarman (AD 345-60)
            - Kaṅgavarman (AD 360-85)
              - Bhāgīratha (AD 385-410)
                - Raghu (AD 410-25)
                  - Kakusthavarman (AD 425-50)
                    - Śāntivarman (AD 450-75)
                      - Mṛgeśavarman (AD 475-88)
                        - Ravivarman (AD 500-38)
                          - Harivaman (538-50)
                        - Bhānuvarman
                        - Śivaratha
                    - Kumāravarman I
                      - Māndhātrivarman (AD 488-500)
                    - Kṛṣṇavarman I
                      - Viṣṇuvarman
                      - Devavarman
                        - Siṃhavarman
                          - Kṛṣṇavarman II (AD 550-65)
                            - Ajayavarman
                              - Bhogivarman
                                - Viṣṇuvarman
        - Pūraṇadeva

REFERENCES

[1] *MCI*, 21.
[2] Ibid.
[3] *HAI*, 432.
[4] Ibid., 432, fn 3.
[5] Ibid., 432; *CSHI*, 130.
[6] *HAI*, 432; *CSHI*, 130.
[7] *MCI*, 22.
[8] *CSHI*, 130.
[9] Ibid.

[10]Ibid. [11]*HAI*, 433. [12]*HSI*, 111.
[13]Ibid., *CSHI*, 130. [14]*HSI*, 112; *CSHI*, 130. [15]*HSI*, 130-31; *HAI*, 433.
[16]*HSI*, 131 [17]*HAI*, 433. [18]Ibid.
[19]Ibid., 433, fn 1. [20]*HSI*, 111; *AHD*, 95; *MCI*, 25.

8. The Gaṅgas of Talkāḍ or Talakkāḍ

The kingdom of the Gaṅgas which formed the greater part of Mysore was called Gaṅgavāḍi.[1] From the authentic contemporary inscriptions we learn that the first ruler was Konganivarman. He belonged to the Jāhnaveya kula, the family of the Gaṅgas and he had the Kāṅvāyana *gotra*.[2] "He distinguished himself in many battles and carved out a prosperous kingdom for himself."[3] He took the title of "Dharma Mahādhirāja."[4] Kuluvala or Kuvalala (Kolar) was his capital.[5] He was succeeded by his son Mahādhirāja Mādhava I (AD 425).[6] His successor was Āryavarman (*c.* AD 450). He was not only a great ruler, but was a great warrior. He was well-versed in the Śāstras, Itihāsas and the Purāṇas.[7] The Pallava ruler Siṃhavarman I of Kāñcī anointed him. Because he "sought support from the Pallava ruler in a dispute for the throne with his younger brother Kṛṣṇavarman."[8] In later inscriptions he is referred to as Harivarman.[9] He fixed his capital at Talavanapur or Talkāḍ or Talkakāḍ on the Kāverī in the Mysore district in the middle of the fifth century AD.[10] Two grants of his time were found. The first discovered in Tanjore refers to his name as Arivarman." It records a gift by him, in 247, of the Orekoḍu village in the Maisu-māḍ Seventy (now Varakodu in the east of Mysore taluk) under some what interesting circumstances. A Bauddha disputant named Vādimadagajendra (a rutting elephant as an orator) in the pride of his learning affixed to the main door of the palace at Talavanapura a patron (as a challenge) in which he asserted the claim that he was the foremost scholar in logic, grammar, and all other branches of knowledge. Whereupon a Brahman named Mādhavabhaṭṭa put his pretensions to the proof (before the court), and when the opponent speaker denied the existence of the soul, established its existence, and with the elephant-goad his speech forced him to crouch down (like a vanquished elephant). The king being pleased, gave the Brāhmaṇa the title Vadībhasiṃha (a lion to the elephant disputant) and with it the Orekoḍu village. The other grant of this king is in the Tagadur plates of the date 266. In this, a Gāvuṇḍa or famer who had made important captures in a battle at Henjeru (now Hemāvatī, on the northern border of Sīra taluk) received as a reward the Appogāl village.[11]

Harivarman was succeeded by his son Viṣṇugopa. He used to worship *gurus*, cows and Brāhmaṇas and "seem to have set aside the Jain faith for that of Nārāyaṇa."[12] The next ruler was Mādhava II.[13] His successor was his son Avinīta.[14] "He was brought up as a Jain, the learned Vijayakīrti being his preceptor. The king himself is described as being the first among the learned of unstinted liberality, and devoted to protecting the South in the maintenance of castes and religious orders. The king held Brahmins as supreme and was devoted to the worship of Hara (Śiva)."[15] The next ruler was Durvinīta.[16] He was a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu. He probably belonged to the second half of the sixth century AD and was regarded as one of the prominent early rulers.[17] He was a powerful ruler and he fought successfully against the Pallavas. He wrote a Sanskrit version of the *Paiśācī Bṛhat-Kathā*[18] and several Sanskrit works. The next ruler was Muṣkara or Mokkara. "From this time the state seems to have adhered to the Jain religion."[19] Śrīvikrama then ascended the throne. He was succeeded by his son Bhūvikrama or Huṣkara.[20] Then his brother Śivamār I occupied the throne.[21] Śrīpuruṣa (AD 726-76) was another ruler who occupied a prominent place in the Gaṅga dynasty.[22] He fought against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and also defeated the Pallavas at Vilardi.[23] The Gaṅgas may be said to have reached the height of prosperity during the long reign of Śrīpuruṣa, ... and in whose time the kingdom was called the Śrī-Rājya or Fortunate kingdom.[24] His grandfather was Śivamāra. The next prominent ruler was Rājamalla (*c.* AD 818). He tried to recover the past glory of the Gaṅga dynasty.[25] The Gaṅgas came into conflict with the Coḷas, who in AD 1004 captured the capital of the Gaṅgas.[26] This brought the end of the Gaṅga rule. Though the Gaṅga power declined but in historical records there are references to the Gaṅga chiefs who acted as vassals of the Hoysalas and the Coḷas.[27]

The Gaṅga rulers were followers of Jainism.[28] They contributed largely to the development of Jainism in their kingdom. Durvinīta patronised the famous Jaina Ācārya Pujjapāda.[29] The reign of Rājamalla IV (*c.* AD 977-85) was also important in the religious history of the Gaṅga kingdom. Because during his rule the image of Gomateśvara at Sravaṇabelgola was established by his minister and general Cāmuṇḍarāya, who was a follower of Jainism.[30]

GENEALOGY

The Gaṅga Rulers[31]

Dhanañjaya

Hariśchandra

Padmanābha

Dadiga — Mādhava I Kongunivarmma

Mādhava II, Kiriya Mādhava

Harivarmma

Viṣṇugopa
Pṛthivī-Gaṅga

Mādhava III

Avinīta

Durvinīta

Muṣkara, Mokkara

Śrīvikramma

Bhūvikramma Śrīvallabha — Śivamāra I

Eregaṅga

Śrīpuruṣa

Śivamāra II, Śaigotta — Vijayāditya

Mārasiṃha — Pṛthivīpati I — Rājamalla Satyāvākya I

Mārasiṃha — Nītimārgga I

Pṛthivīpati II — Rājamalla Satyāvākya II — Butugendra

Ereyapa

Rājamalla Satyāvākya III — Butuga

Marula Deva — Somi Deva — Mārasiṃha

Rājamalla Satyāvākya IV — Rakkasa Gaṅga — Arumuli Deva

REFERENCES

[1] *HAI*, 434; *HSI*, 112.
[2] *HSI*, 112.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.; *HAI*, 434.
[6] *HSI*, 112.
[7] Ibid., 113.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid., 113; *MCI*, 33.
[10] *HSI*, 113; *HAI*, 434.
[11] *MCI*, 33.
[12] Ibid., 34.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid., 35.
[16] Ibid.
[17] *HAI*, 434, fn 1.
[18] Ibid., 434.
[19] *MCI*, 36.
[20] Ibid., 37.
[21] Ibid.
[22] *HAI*, 434.
[23] Ibid.
[24] *MCI*, 38.
[25] *HAI*, 434.
[26] Ibid., 434.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid., 435.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.
[31] *MCI*, 49-50.

9. THE HOYSALAS OF DVĀRASAMUDRA OR DORASAMUDRA

The Hoysalas (Poysalas) in their records referred to themselves as "Yādavakulatilaka" or "Kṣatriyas of the lunar race."[1] From one of their oldest titles 'Malaperolgaṇḍa' or 'champion among the Malapas or hill chiefs' we learn that the Hoysalas were at first hill chiefs.[2] Rama Shankar Tripathi says that "the historical founder of the dynasty was certain Sāla, who became noted for having struck and killed a tiger with an iron rod at the behest of a sage. It is said that this circumstances (Poy Sāla, i.e., strike, Sāla) gave to the family the name of Poysala or Hoysala."[3] K.R. Venkataraman gives an account of the

legendary founder Sāla of the Hoysalas. He describes, "The origin of the Hoysalas is shrouded in mystery. Their legendary founder Sāla is reported to have exhibited his coolness and valour in killing a tiger, which was about to pounce upon him while engaged in receiving instructions from his guru, a Jaina monk. The scene of this occurrence was Sosāvīr or Śaśākapur in the modern Mudgere taluk of the Kadūr district in Mysore."[4]

The Hoysalas became prominent in the beginning of the eleventh century AD. "The kings of the dynasty flourished in southern India, especially in the Kāṇṇaḍā regions, in the middle ages, from the beginning of the eleventh century to the middle of the fourteenth, until they were overthrown by the Muhammedan invaders from the north.... The mediaeval period of South Indian history is indeed glorious period of Hindu culture, and in this the Hoysalas, more perhaps than any other dynasty, contributed to the development of art and architecture, religion and literature."[5]

The Hoysalas at first ruled in Velāpura (Bellore of Belur) in Mysore.[6] Later on they fixed their capital at Dorasamudra or Dvārasamudra (the modern Halebid).[7] They referred to themselves as 'Dvārāvatīpuravarādīśvara.'[8] The rulers were originally Jains. But they were converted to Vaiṣṇavism.[9] It is known from epigraphical records that the earliest Hoysala chiefs were Vinayāditya I, Nṛpakama and Vinayāditya II.[10] They ruled in the eleventh century AD.[11] The next ruler was Ereyaṅga.[12] It is said that he helped his Chālukya overlord Vikramāditya in his wars against Kulottuṅga Choḷa I.[13] A later inscription[14] mentions that Ereyaṅga led a successful campaign into the north. It describes further that he not only destroyed Dhārā, the capital of the kings of Mālwā, but also defeated the rulers of Coḷa and Kaliṅga. He was succeeded by his son Ballāla I in the beginning of the twelfth century AD.[15] The next ruler was his younger brother Biṭṭideva or Biṭṭiga Viṣṇuvardhana (c. AD 111-41).[16] K.R. Venkataraman says, "it was his successor Biṭṭiga, known as Viṣṇuvardhana after his conversion to the Vaiṣṇava faith, that brought greatness to the Hoysala line."[17] He established his family in a position of independent authority.[18] He defeated the Coḷas, the Pāṇḍyas of Madurā, the people of Mālābār, the Tuluvas of South Kanāra and the Kadambas of Goa.[19] He ruled over an extensive empire which comprised nearly the whole of Mysore and its neighbouring regions.[20] He fixed his capital at Dvārasamudra (Halebid). K.R. Venkataraman says: "Though Viṣṇuvardhana declared himself a Sāmanta of the Chālukya empire, his conquests won him such prestige and reputation for independence that might well have been a warning to contemporary South Indian kingdoms of the rise of a new power, young and virile, and out to enter upon a career of aggrandisement."[21]

Viṣṇuvardhana was a Jain in his early life. During the early years of his reign Jainism flourished under his patronage and his minister Gaṇarāja. Many Jain temples were built and also were restored. Afterwards the king met the famous *ācārya* and the Vaiṣṇava reformer Rāmānuja. Under the latter's influence, the king took interest in Vaiṣṇavism and accepted it as his religion. "The magnificent buildings at Belur and Halebid testify to the zeal and good taste which he devoted to the serving of his new religion."[22] When he was converted to Vaiṣṇavism, he "asumed the name of Viṣṇuvardhana or Viṣṇu, by which he is best known."[23]

The next ruler was Viṣṇuvardhana's son Pratāpa Narasiṃha or Narasiṃha. The latter was succeeded by his son Vīra Ballāḷa or Ballāḷa II (AD 1172-1215).[24] He had the imperial titles of Mahārājādhirāja. He succeeded in establishing himself as an independent king. K.R. Venkataraman describes, "Ballāḷa II was practically an independent sovereign. Under his the Hoysala power became the arbiter of the destinies of the Tamil empires, a position which gave it not only the prerogative to influence war and peace in the south of India, but opportunities of political expansion"[25] He defeated Brahma, the general of Someśvara IV Chālukya and Bhillana, the Jādava king of Devagiri in AD 1191.[26] He reigned till AD 1212. The Ciknayakahalli inscription of AD 1181 of Ballālladeva of Dvārasamudra mentions that Ballāladeva was a supporter of the four Samayas, Maheśvara, Bauddha, Vaiṣṇava and *Arhat*.[27] An inscription of AD 1188 also refers to it.[28] These inscriptions show that Buddhism flourished side by side with Hinduism and Jainism under the patronage of the Hoysalas.

The next ruler was Narasiṃha II. During his rule the Hoysala power played a very prominent role in the political history of the southern states. He defeated the Pāṇḍyas.[29] He is said to have conquered Kāñcī.[30] He ruled for twenty years. Vīra Someśvara succeeded him. His son Narasiṃha III reigned in AD 1254. Someśvara's sons Narasiṃha III and Vīra Rāmanātha divided the kingdom between them.[31] Narasiṃha took the control of the home province; and the Tamil provinces including part of the East Mysore country comprising the modern Kolar disctict came under the rule of Rāmanātha. Vīra Viśvanātha, who was Rāmanātha's son, ruled for five years.[32] The next ruler was Vīra Ballāḷa III or Ballāḷa III.[33] He became the sole ruler after the death of Vīra Viśvanātha. In AD 1310 Malik Kafur and Khwaja Haji invaded the Hoysala kingdom.[34] They captured Ballāḷa and sacked his capital. They detained him for three years, and then they released him. When he came back, he tried to organise the defences

of his country to resist the Moslem invaders and to save the country from the hands of their further attacks.[35] Ballāḷa IV ascended the throne in AD 1343 and Harihara I of Vijayanagara in the same year threw him out of his kingdom.[36] He lost his throne. The Hoysala dynasty came to an end in the later part of the fourteenth century AD.[37] This kingdom was merged in the Vijayanagara empire.

Śaivism, Buddhism, Vaiṣṇavism and Jainism flourished side by side in the Hoysala kingdom. Ballāḷa II and his generals were worshippers of Śiva, Buddha, Viṣṇu and *Arhat*. K.R. Venkataraman says, "It has been said with a certain amount of pardonable pride that Ballāḷa II and his generals were the supporters of the four creeds—Maheśvara, Buddha, Vaiṣṇava and *Arhat*."[38] Chandramauli, a Hindu minister, offered grants to the Viṣṇu temple at Kāñcī.[39] He had a Jaina wife whose name was Accāmbikā.[40] She played an important role for the development of Jainism in the Hoysala kingdom. Many Vaiṣṇava rulers erected Śiva temples.[41] The Hoysalas made an important contribution to the development of Vaiṣṇavism in South India.[42] They gave shelter to Śrī Rāmānuja, the famous Vaiṣṇava teacher. He stayed here for about 12 years and Briṭṭiga became a Vaiṣṇava when he came under his influence.[43] The former also for the spread of Vaiṣṇavism helped to establish a number of temples in the Hoysala kingdom. "Mention may be made of the *aṣṭagrāma* or the eight Viṣṇu shrines on both banks of the Kāverī, including the temple at Seringapatam, the Sampatkumāra temple at Melkote and the Vijayanagarana temple at Belur."[44]

W. Coelho says, "Prior to the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana the Hoysala kings had always professed the Jaina faith though they were tolerant towards other religions. Ballāḷa I was even known to have specially favoured Śaivism. It was Viṣṇuvardhana, however, who for the first time discarded the ancient faith of the Hoysala dynasty. Jainism had been flourishing long before the Hoysala period under the patronage of the Gaṅgas and Chālukyas and had become the national religion of the South Indian kingdoms as testified by the old Basadies at Śravaṇa Belgola, Kolar and other places in Gaṅgavāḍi. Jainism had been steadily increasing in prosperity, but the conversion of the Viṣṇuvardhana in about AD 1116 rendered a death-blow to it and from that time it began its decay....

The Hoysala kings from the early times were devout Jainas, but they, like most of the Hindu kings of the South, showed toleration to other creeds. Viṣṇuvardhana like Ballāḷa I must have had friendly feelings towards other religions since he had given large number of grants to Śaiva institutions.

The king, Narasiṃha I, was himself very tolerant in his dealings with the different creeds. In AD 1159 he had come to Śravaṇa Belgola to pay homage to Gomateśvara, and when he was residing there he bestowed grants to the Jaina temple built by a minister Hulla. The Jaina religion had lost its prominence by this time, but the followers of that faith had developed a policy of compromising their religious precepts with those of others. In an inscription of AD 1151 at Tamkur of the Hoysalas there is a reference to an invocation to the Universal Spirit Jina who is Śiva, Dhātṛ (Brahmā), Sugata (Buddha) and Viṣṇu.[45] Thus in this inscription "Sugata, Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu are recognised as different manifestations of the same universal spirit."[46] An inscription[47] found at Hosur dated in Kali 4266 (Tamil-Pramadhi), corresponding to AD 1166 refers to a dedication to God Nārāyaṇa by a certain Keśava Nāyakan. It mentions that the latter offered prayer to the god for Narasiṃha's son Śrī Vallāḷa Deva and told that 'he may secure the throne'. Narasiṃha's leanings were towards Vaiṣṇavism.

The time of Ballāḷa II shows peace and harmony among the people of different religions. The great sectarian movements of the Liṅgāyats had nearly been settled and become an organised religion. It was largely adopted by the mercantile class which was known as Vira-Bananju Dharma.... King Ballāḷa belonged to the Śaiva faith, though his generosity was extended to all religions.... His patronage of the Śaiva faith obtained for him the name 'Śiva Ballāḷa'.

The same spirit of compromise as at the time of Ballāḷa continued during the reign of Narasiṃha II and there was much religious toleration between the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas as symbolised by the god Hari-Hara.... Narasiṃha II himself was of Vaiṣṇavite tendency. ... But he patronised the Śaivas also.

Someśvara, Narasiṃha's son, was definitely a Śaivite.... But the Vaiṣṇava temples were badly neglected by him in the island. It was only Jatāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya who renovated the Vaiṣṇava temples.... Just previous to his (Someśvara's) death he seems to have paid his respects to the Jaina gods since he had established his triple umbrella in a Jaina *basādi*, Vijaya Tirthādhinātha, inviting his subjects to pay homage to it.

The two sons of Someśvara, Narasiṃha III and Padmanātha, however, followed two different faiths. While the former showed an inclination towards Jainism, the latter and his son Viśvanātha supported Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism.

Thus the people of the Hoysala Empire followed different creeds, and all those creeds at one time or other flourished under the patronage of the Hoysala kings."[48]

GENEALOGY

The Hoysalas[49]

Sāla, Poysāla, Hoysala (AD 1006)
|
Vinayāditya I
|
Nṛpakama (AD 1022-1047)
|
Vinayāditya II (AD 1047-98)
|
Ereyaṅga (AD 1098-1100)
|
Ballāḷa I (AD 1100-1110) | Viṣṇuvardhana, Biṭṭiga (AD 1110-52) | Udayāditya

Viṣṇuvardhana, Biṭṭiga (AD 1110-52)
|
Narasiṃha I (AD 1152-73)
|
Ballāḷa II or Vīra Ballāḷa II (AD 1173-1220)
|
Narasiṃha II (AD 1220-38)
|
Someśvara (AD 1238-67)
|
Narasiṃha III (AD 1267-92) | Rāmanātha (AD 1267-95)

Narasiṃha III (AD 1267-92)
|
Vīra Ballāḷa III, Ballāḷa III (AD 1292-1342)
|
Vīra Ballāḷa IV, Ballāḷa IV

Rāmanātha (AD 1267-95)
|
Viśvanātha (AD 1295-1310)

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[1] *HAI*, 435; *HTC*, 1. [2] *HTC*, 1. [3] *HAI*, 435.
[4] *HTC*, 1. [5] *HV*, VII. [6] *HTC*, 1; *CSHI*, 128.
[7] *HTC*, 1; *CSHI*, 128. [8] *HTC*, 1. [9] *CSHI*, 128.
[10] *HTC*, 1. [11] Ibid., 1. [12] Ibid., 1.
[13] Ibid., 1. [14] *CSHI*, 128. [15] Ibid.; *HTC*, 1.
[16] *CSHI*, 128; *HTC*, 1; *EHI*, 450; *HAI*, 436. [17] *HTC*, 1.
[18] *CSHI*, 128. [19] Ibid., 128-29; *HAI*, 436. [20] *CSHI*, 436.

[21] *HTC*, 5. [22] *EHI*, 451. [23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.; *HAI*, 436; *HTC*, 6. [25] *HTC*, 9.
[26] *HAI*, 436; *CSHI*, 129. [27] *DBI*, 114. [28] Ibid., 114.
[29] *HAI*, 436; *CSHI*, 129. [30] *HTC*, 13. [31] Ibid., 24.
[32] Ibid., 28. [33] Ibid., 29. [34] *CSHI*, 129; *HAI*, 436.
[35] *CSHI*, 129; *HAI*, 436. [36] *HTC*, 39-40. [37] *HAI*, 437.
[38] *HTC*, 64. [39] Ibid. [40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid. [42] Ibid. [43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid. [45] *DBI*, 114; *EC*, XII, 20, 74, 76; *HV*, 291.
[46] *DBI*, 133-34. [47] *HTC*, 5-6. [48] *HV*, 288-95.
[49] *HSI*, 225; *MCI*, 97.

10. THE PALLAVAS OF KĀÑCĪ

The name Pallava resembles the Persian word Pahlava very closely. From it some scholars think that the southern Pallavas of Kāñcī were "a family of foreign origin."[1] It is generally accepted that in the early centuries of the Christian era many people of Persian origin arrived in the Deccan from the north-west and west and settled there and took service there.[2] The Jūnāgarh inscription of Rudradāman of the middle of the second century AD describes that his minister Suvisakha was a Pahlava.[3] According to some scholars, "the Pallavas were autochthons of the land, associated or allied with the Kurumbas, Kallars, Maravars and other 'predatory' tribes. After welding them, the Pallavas are believed to have emerged as a mighty political power."[4] M.C. Rasanayagam says that the Pallavas "were of Coḷa-Nāga extraction, and belonged to southern extremity of the peninsula and Ceylon."[5] Kṛṣnaswāmī Aiyangar mentions that there are references to the Pallavas as Toṇḍaiyas in the Saṅgam literature,[6] and "they were descended from the Nāga chieftains, who were vassals of the Sātavāhana sovereigns."[7] K.P. Jayaswal[8] believes that the Pallavas were "neither foreigners nor Dravidians, but good Brahmin aristocrats from the north, military by profession." According to him, they were a branch of the Vākāṭakas.[9] K.P. Jayaswal mentions them as good Brahmins. But in the Talaguṇḍa inscription the Kadamba Mayūrśarman refers to them as the "Pallava Kṣatriya", which signifies "the Kṣatriya stock of the Pallavas."[10] The Pallavas were Viceroys of the Sātavāhanas in the southern Deccan. In the 3rd century AD when the Sātavāhana power declined, the Pallavas declared their independence and became masters of this region. Dubreuil says, "The Pallavas succeeded the Aandhras. Their plates mention the province of Sātāhani Raṭṭha a portion of the Bellary district. Thus the Pallava empire extended along the Coromandel Coast upto the Kṛṣṇa and Westward in the Deccan upto the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā."[11]

The Mayidavolu plates, the Hīrahaḍgalli plates and Queen Chārudevī's grant in Prākṛt of the "third and fourth centuries of the Christian era" were found in the Guntur district.[12] These three copperplate charters which were regarded as the earliest sources of Pallava history give the names of four rulers.[13] They were Bappadeva, Śivaskandavarman, Buddh (aṅkura) and Vīravarman.[14] It is very probable that Bappadeva reigned between AD 225 and 250.[15] He is said to have extended his influence over the Telugu Andhrapatha and the Tamil Toṇḍamaṇḍalam.[16] It seems that his headquarters were at Amarāvatī.[17] The next ruler was his son Śivaskandavarman. He also known as Vijayaskandavarman.[18] A much later inscription refers to Vīrakūrca as the founder of the dynasty.[19] His wife was a Nāga princess and his son was Skandavarman or Skandaśiṣya. Thus Vīrakūrca was another name of Bappadeva. The Velurpalaiyam plate mentions Vīrakūrca, his son Skandaśiṣya and the latter's son Kumāraviṣṇu.[20] It describes that Kumāra-Viṣṇu captured the city of Kāñcī and founded the Kāñcī kingdom in AD 200. It seems that when the Sātavāhana rule came to an end the Pallavas rose into prominence and declared their independence and established the Kāñcī kingdom. From the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta one learns that Samudragupta in AD 338 invaded Dakṣiṇāpatha and conquered Kāñcī. It mentions the Pallava ruler. According to scholars, he was Viṣṇugopa of Kāñcī. He was defeated by Samudragupta in the first half of the fourth century AD. C.V. Vaidya describes: "This shock threw the Pallavas power into shade for some time. But it rose again into splendour under the later Pallavas."[21]

The Pallavas were devotees of Lord Śiva. They erected great temples of Śiva in Kāñcī. They also built Viṣṇu temples. But Śiva was regarded as their family deity. Some Pallava rulers made grants to Buddhists at Amarāvatī. It does not mean that they were Buddhists. They were Śaivas, but they tolerated other faiths to flourish side by side with Śaivism in their kingdom. Buddhism and Jainism flourished and they had many followers in the Pallava kingdom of Kāñcī. Śaivism prospered there under the patronage of the ruling families, nobles and common people. C.V. Vaidya[22] says, "Kāñcī is still the greatest stronghold of Śaivism in the south and the most devout Śaiva poets and saints belong to Kāñcī. It was probably on this account, that Kāñcī has risen to the proud position of a holy city in Hindu estimation. According to Hindu belief, there are only seven cities which are holy in India viz., Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā or Haradwār, Kāśī, Kāñcī, Avantī or Ujjain and Dvārakā. It is strange that in the south the honour belongs only to one city and that is Kāñcī and does not belong even to Paithan or Pratiṣṭhāna, the ancient Mahārāṣṭra

seat of learning. It seems that this position was attained by Kāñcī under the orthodox rule of the early Pallavas and by the religion of Śaivism which they propagated and favoured together with the greatness of the Śaiva saints who flourished there."

Siṃhaviṣṇu, who was also known as Avanisiṃha and Siṃhaviṣṇu-pottarāyan ascended throne in the last quarter of the sixth century AD.[23] He founded a new Pallava dynasty. He was regarded as the first great ruler among the later Pallavas. He extended his territory upto the Kāverī and defeated the Pāṇḍyas, Kalabhras and the Mālwās.[24] His name suggests that he was a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu. It is very probable that Vaiṣṇavism flourished in his kingdom under his noble patronage. He was succeeded by his son Mahendravarman I.[25] He is referred to as the first great builder of the Pallava dynasty. He was defeated by the Chālukya ruler Pulakeśin II and the latter captured the province of Veṅgī which became a part of the Eastern Chālukya kingdom.[26] Mahendravarman I at first was a follower of Jainism. But after some time "he abjured Jainism"[27] and came under the influence of Saint Appar.[28] He then became a Śaiva and devoted his time and engergy to the progress of Śaivism in his kingdom. Thus under his noble patronage Śaivism became very popular. Saints Appar and Tirujñāna-Sambandar played their vital parts for its propagation.[29] Mahendravarman I built a rock temple of Viṣṇu on the bank of a tank called after him in Mahendravāḍī (North Arcot district).[30] The Maṇḍagappattu inscription[31] says that Mahendravarman I constructed a temple and offered it to Brahmā, Īśvara and Viṣṇu. It is to be noted here that it was built without using bricks, mortar, metal and timber. Mahendravarman I "introduced into southern India the practice of hewing temples out of solid rocks. Indeed, one of his many birudas or epithets was Cettakāri or Caitya-Kāri, i.e., the builder of *caityas* or temples."[32] He is said to have patronised arts, literature and music. He wrote the *Mattavilāsaprahasana,* which throws flood of light on the religious life of the Kāpālikas, Pāśupatas, Śākyabhikṣus and other sects.[33]

The next ruler was Mahendravarman I's son Narsiṃhavarman I Mahāmalla (AD 630-68).[34] He is said to have defeated the Chālukya ruler Pulakeśin II in three successive battles and Pulakeśin II was killed. In order to commemorate this victory over the Chālukyas Mahendravarman I took the title of Vātāpikoṇḍa.[35] He built the city of Mamallapuram (Mahāmallapuram).[36] He beautified this city by Dharmarāja Ratha or the Seven Pagodas.[37]

Hiuen-tsang[38] visited Kāñcī during the reign of Narapatisiṃha-varman I's reign. He refers to the country as Ta-lo-pi-ch'a (Draviḍa). Its capital was Kin-chi-pu-lo (Kāñcipura). It was 6,000 *li* in circuit.

"The soil is fertile and regularly cultivated, and produces abundance of grain. There are also many flowers and fruits. It produces precious gems and other articles. The climate is hot, the character of the people courageous. They are deeply attached to the principles of honesty and truth, and highly esteem learning; in respect of their language and written characters, they differ but little from those of Mid-India. There are some hundred of Saṅghārāmas and 10,000 priests. They all study the teaching of the Sthāvira (Chang-tso-pu) school belonging to the Great Vehicle. There are some eighty Deva temples, and many heretics called Nirgranthas."[39] Hiuen-tsang[40] mentions further that the Buddha visited this place to propagate his doctrine there and the Maurya emperor Aśoka erected stūpas here to commemorate sacred sites. He even refers to the celebrated Buddhist teacher Dharmapāla who belonged to Kāñcī.

Narasiṃhavarman I was succeeded by Mahendravarman II (AD 668-70). He ruled for a very short period. Parameśvaravarman I succeeded him (AD 670-700).[41] He was a devout worshipper of Śiva. For the prosperity of Śaivism he built many temples in his kingdom. In the Vunne Guruvayapalem plates Parameśvaravarman I is referred to as Paramamaheśvara and Paramabrāhmaṇya.[42] The Kailāśanātha temple inscription compares him with Śiva.[43] The Kasakkundi plates give a comparison between him and Śiva.[44] The next ruler was Narasiṃhavarman II Rājasiṃha (AD 728-29).[45] He had a peaceful reign. In connection with a mission of Wang Hiuen Tse in India, Sylvain Levi refers to one Vajrabodhi, the third son of a Kṣatriya king of Central India, Īśānavarman.[46] He was born in AD 661 and studied at Nālandā till AD 687. He paid his visit to Kapilavastu in 689 and came ot Kāñcī which "was suffering from a severe drought for three years."[47] The ruler of Kāñcī was Narasiṃhapotavarman, who took the help of Vajrabodhi. This virtuous person prayed for rain and he brought on rain.[48] There is also a reference to Vajrabodhi in Watter's translation of Hiuen-tsang.[49] It says, "The great Buddhist Vajrabodhi who came to China in AD 719 is described as a native of the Malaya country adjoining Mount Potalaka, preceptor of the ruler of Kāñcī."[50] T.V. Mahalingam mentions: "It is not known how far these accounts are authentic; but if taken to be reliable, they will be of considerable help in determining the chronology of Narasiṃhavarman II. Vajrabodhi is said to have gone on pilgrimage to Kapilavastu in AD 689 and the next place visited by him is mentioned as Kāñcī. It may therefore be taken that he arrived at Kāñcīpuram somewhere in AD 690-91 or 691-92. As Narasiṃhapotavarman is said to have governed the kingdom during the time of his visit, it is obvious that he had come to the throne in AD 690 or 691."[51] He says further "the acceptance of

this story of Vajrabodhi will involve the assumption that during the closing years of Parameśvaravarman I's reign and the time of accession of Rājasiṃha a terrible famine occurred in the Pallava kingdom. This is not confirmed by any of the Pallava records explicitly."[52]

The arrival of Vajrabodhi at Kāñcī in about AD 691-92 indicates that though Śaivism prospered in the Pallava kingdom under the royal patronage, but Buddhism also continued to exist there. Rājasiṃha constructed a Buddhist vihāra at Nāgappaṭṭinam "in accordance with the request of a Chinese ruler 'for the sake of Chinese Buddhists who came to Nāgappaṭṭinam from China for trade.' The temple became known as the 'China Pagoda'."[53] Rājasiṃha built the Kailāśanātha or Rājasiṃheśvara temple. He also erected the Airāvateśvara at Kāñcī and the so-called Shore temple at Mahābalipuram.[54] The great rhetorician Daṇḍin used to reside in his court.[55] The next ruler was Parameśvaravarman II (AD 728-29 or 731-32).[56] He ruled for a very short period. His successor was Nandivarman II Pallavamalla (AD 731-96).[57] During his reign the Chālukya ruler Vikramāditya II attacked the Pallava kingdom and captured Kāñcī. But Nandivarman soon drove them out of his kingdom. He is said to have reigned for at least sixty-five years. He took the title of Pallavamalla. He was a follower of Vaiṣṇavism. He constructed many temples in his kingdom for the progress of Vaiṣṇavism. His son was Dantivarman (AD 796-846).[58] The Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Govinda III attacked Kāñcī and defeated Dantivarman. His successors were Nandi or Nandivarman III (AD 846-69) and Nṛpatuṅgavarman (AD 869-95).[59] The last ruler was Aparājitavarman (AD 895-913).[60] He defeated the Pāṇḍya ruler Varaguṇa II in the battle of Śrī Purambīyam near Kumbhakoṇam.[61] But he was defeated by the Coḷa ruler Āditya I in fierce fight and the latter captured Toṇḍamaṇḍalam.[62] This brought the end of the Pallava rule.

From Hiuen-tsang's account we got an idea about Buddhism. He says that the country had "some hundred of Saṅghārāmas and 10,000 priests. They all study the teaching of the Sthāvira (Chang-tso-pu) school belonging to the Great Vehicle." His record shows us that Buddhism prospered in the Pallava kingdom and some of the early Pallava rulers were followers of Buddhism. R.C. Mitra says, "In spite of fierce religious rivalry, a very interesting light on the non-sectarian character of the early Pallava rulers is thrown by an inscription of 7th century on the lintel above the figure Śaṅkara Nārāyaṇa in the Varāha Perumal temple. It contains a Purāṇic verse on the 10 *avatāras* of Viṣṇu with Buddha as one of the *avatāras* or incarnations."[63] Hiuen-tsang's account mentions that the Pallava kingdom

had "many Nirgranthas." It indicates that Jainism flourished there. Even Mahendravarman I was a Jaina before his conversion of Śaivism. Later on he became Śaiva under the influence to Saint Appar. The latter and Tirujñāna-Sambandar propagated the teachings of Śaivism in the Pallava kingdom. Most of the Pallava rulers were Śaivas but they gave their encouragement and support for the progress of Vaiṣṇavism. The ¯ḷvāras (Vaiṣṇava saints) played their vital role for the development of Vaiṣṇavism in the kingdom of the Pallavas. But Buddhism and Jainism declined there.

C.V. Vaidya[64] says, "The later Pallavas were like the earlier ones great Śaivas and they have left behind them temples and caves and rockcut *rathas* which are yet the admiration of the world. They surpassed the Chālukyas in this respect. The Rājasiṃheśvara or Kailāśanātha temple in Kāñcī is famous....

The later Pallavas were great builders of temples. Dubreuil thinks that Narasiṃhavarman II surnamed Rājasiṃha had a long, and peaceful reign, and did nothing else "except loading Śaivite priests with favours and building temples to Śiva. Besides the famous Kailāśanātha or Rājasiṃheśvara temple he built the Shore Temples at Mahābalipura and the Pannamalai temple. The Airāvateśvara temple at Kāñcī may also be added to this list...."

Genealogy

The Pallavas[65]

Siṃhavarman	Bhīmavarman
Siṃhaviṣṇu	Buddhavarman
Mahendravarman I	Ādityavarman
Narasiṃhavarman I	Govindavarman
Mahendravarman II	Hiraṇyavarman
Parameśvaravarman I	
Narasiṃhavarman II Rājasiṃha	
Parameśvaravarman II	Nandivarman II
Nandipotavarman	Dantivarman
	Nandivarman III

Sons of Nandivarman III: Nṛpatuṅgavarman — Aparājita — Kampavarman

References

[1]*EHI*, 490; *CSHI*, 153; *HAI*, 442.
[2]Ibid. [3]*CSHI*, 153.
[4]*HAI*, 442; *EHI*, 492-93.
[5]*HAI*, 442; *IA*, LII, 77-82; *EHI*, 491-92.
[6]*HAI*, 442; *JIH*, II, I, November, 122, 20-26.
[7]*HAI*, 442; *JIH*, 20-66; *EHI*, 492.
[8]*HAI*, 442; *JBORS*, 1933, March-June, 180-83. [9]*HAI*, 443.
[10]Ibid.; *EI*, VIII, 32, 34, v. 11, l. 4; *ASLP*, 13.
[11]*HMHI*, I, 282—Rattha or Rasta was the name of a district.
[12]*HAI*, 443; *HPK*, 32. [13]*HAI*, 443. [14]Ibid.
[15]*CSHI*, 153. [16]*HAI*, 443—Dharanikotta near Amarāvatī and Kāñcī.
[17]*CSHI*, 153. [18]Ibid.; *HAI*, 444. [19]*CSHI*, 154.
[20]*HMHI*, 283. [21]Ibid., 284. [22]Ibid., 286.
[23]*CSHI*, 154; *HAI*, 445. [24]*CSHI*, 445.
[25]Ibid., 155, 446; *HMHI*, I, 288.
[26]*CSHI*, 155, 446; *HMHI*, 288-89. [27]*CSHI*, 446.
[28]Ibid. [29]Ibid., 446-47. [30]Ibid., 447; *EI*, IV, 152-53.
[31]*CSHI*, 447; *EI*, XVII, 14-17. [32]*CSHI*, 447; *HPK*, 90.
[33]*CSHI*, 155, 447. [34]Ibid., 155, 447; *KESIH*, 79. [35]*CSHI*, 155, 448.
[36]Ibid., 155, 448-49. [37]Ibid., 449. [38]Ibid.; Beal, II, 228-29.
[39]*CSHI*, 449; Beal, II, 228-29. [40]Ibid.
[41]*CSHI*, 449; *CSHI*, 156; *KESTH*, 96.
[42]*KESIH*, 107; *EI*, XXXII, 97. [43]*KESIH*, 107; *SII*, 13.
[44]*KESIH*, 107. [45]*HAI*, 450.
[46]*KESIH*, 109; *ASLP*, 115 ff. [47]*KESIH*, 110.
[48]Ibid. [49]Ibid.; Watters, II, 231.
[50]*KESIH*, 110, fn 5—"While Sylvain Levi has written that the father of Vajrabodhi was a ruler of Central India, Watters says that he was the preceptor of a Pallava ruler. No North Indian ruler is known to have come south to Kāñcī as a preceptor."
[51]*KESIH*, 110. [52]Ibid. [53]*KESIH*, 125; *NBB*, 14.
[54]*HAI*, 450. [55]Ibid. [56]Ibid., 451.
[57]Ibid.; *HAI*, 454; *KESIH*, 137. [58]*HAI*, 451; *KESIH*, 186.
[59]*HAI*, 452; *KESIH*, 196-220. [60]Ibid.
[61]*HAI*, 452. [62]Ibid.
[63]*DBI*, 107; *MASI*, XXVI, 5-6. [64]*HMHI*, I, 289-91.
[65]Ibid., I, 287; *HSI*, 171.

11. The Colas

From traditions one learns that the Coḷa country or the Coḷa kingdom (Coḷamaṇḍalam, i.e., Coromandel) "was bounded on the north by the Pennar, and on the south by the southern Vellāru (Vellar) river; or, in other words, it extended along the eastern coast from Nellore to Pudukottai, where it abutted on the Pāṇḍya territory. On the west it reached to the borders of Coorg."[1] Rama Shankar Tripathi mentions that the geographical limits of the Coḷa country roughly corresponded to the modern districts of Tanjore and Trichinopoly and a portion of Pudukottai state.[2] Uragapur or Vraiyur, near old Trichinopoly was the most ancient historical capital of the Coḷas.[3] Kātyāyana, the grammarian (c. 4th century BC), refers to the Coḍas (or Coḍas or Coḷas).[4] There are references to them in the *Mahābhārata*.[5] Aśoka's II and XIII Rock Edicts mention the Coḍas (Choḍas) who "were a friendly power in the south beyond the pale of the Mauryan suzerainty."[6] The *Mahāvaṃśa*[7] describes that in the middle of the second century BC a Coḷa named Elāra not only conquered Ceylon but also ruled there for a very long time. *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (c. AD 81) and *The Geography of Ptolemy* (c. middle of the second century AD) mention the Coḷa country and its inland towns and ports.[8] Not only ancient Tamil literature but also records of the Greek and Roman authors inform us that "in the first two centuries of the Christian era the ports on the Coromandel or Coḷa coast enjoyed the benefits of active commerce with both west and east."[9]

Karikāla (Karikkāl)[10], son of Iḷañjetīnni, was the first historical Coḷa ruler. He is said to have succeeded his grandfather in the middle of the second century AD.[11] He defeated the rulers of Pāṇḍya and Cera and a number of minor chieftains.[12] He was a good warrior and he extended his kingdom. He invaded Ceylon "whence he carried off 12,000 men as slaves to labour at the great irrigation works he began on the Kāverī."[13] He transferred his capital from Uraiyur to Kāviripaddinam or Kāveripattanam.[14] He ruled for a very long time. The next ruler was his grandson Nedumudi Killi.[15] He was a weak ruler. Owing to his inefficiency the Coḷa power declined. The new capital was destroyed. In the third or fourth century AD the Pallavas became very prominent in the political history of South India. The Pāṇḍyas and the Ceras at the same time played the role of aggressors. Owing to the rise of the Pallavas, the Coḷas suffered very much, but they did not disappear. Though they remained there, "but for the next few centuries they were of no consequence, bowing low before almost every blast."[16] During these periods they played a very minor role in South Indian history.

Hiuen-tsang visited India in the first half of the seventh century AD. He records that "the country of Chu-li-ye (Cūly or Coḷa) is about 2400 or 2500 *li* in circuit, and the capital is about 10 *li* round. It is deserted and wild, a succession of marshes and jungle. The population is very small, and troops and brigands go through the country openly. The climate is hot; the manners of the people dissolute and cruel. The disposition of men is naturally fierce; they are attached to heretical teaching. The Saṅghārāmas are ruined and dirty as well as the priests. There are some tens of Deva temples, and many Nirgranthas heretics."[17] Hiuen-tsang's account shows that Buddhism did not flourish in the Coḷa kingdom. It declined, because "the few Buddhist monasteries were ruinous, and the monks dwelling in them as dirty as the buildings."[18] This clearly indicates the condition of Buddhism in the Coḷa kingdom in the first half of the seventh century AD. Jainism prospered there at that time. It is very probable that its flourished under the patronage of the Coḷa people. But the Coḷa country had not many Brahmanical temples. Hiuen-tsang does not say anything about the Coḷa ruler. V.A. Smith states, "Doubtless for the reason that the local Rājā was a person of small importance, subordinate to the reigning Pallava king of Kāñcī, the powerful Narasiṃharvarınan...."[19] But it is to be noted here that after the decline of the Pallava power, the Coḷas once again came into prominence in the political history of South India.

Vijayāditya, a member of the old ruling family, ascended the throne in the middle of the ninth century AD.[20] It is very probable that he began his career as a vassal of the Pallava king in the region of Uraiyur.[21] He not only regained much of the old Coḷa territory but also recovered the lost glory of his family. He occupied Tanjavur or Tanjore, from the hands of the Muttaraiyar chiefs and it became his capital.[22] He is said to have reigned for thirty-four years. His son Āditya I (AD 880-907) succeeded him.[23] He defeated Aparājitavarman, the Pallava ruler. This brought the end of Pallava supremacy. Toṇḍamaṇḍalam also came under his control. He also occupied Koṅgudeśa and captured Talkāḍ, the capital of the Western Gaṅgas. He was a worshipper of Śiva. For the development of Śaivism in his kingdom he built many temples of Śiva. He was succeeded by his son Parāntaka I (AD 907-53).[24] At that time the Coḷa kingdom "comprised almost the entire eastern country from Kālahāsti and Madras in the north to the Kāverī in the south."[25] During his rule he played the role of an aggressor and defeated Rājasiṃha, the Pāṇḍya king and captured his capital Madurā.[26] He also took the title of Māduraikoṇḍa.[27]

He even invaded Ceylon. He then "Uprooted two Bāṇa kings and conquered the Vaidumbas."[28] He also destroyed the Pallava power and extended his influence upto Nellore in the north.[29] Towards the end of his reign the Rāṣṭrakūṭas attacked his kingdom and captured Kāñcī and Tanjore and his son Rājāditya was killed in the battle of Takkolaṃ (North Arcot district) in AD 949.[30] Parāntaka I was a devout worshipper of Śiva. Under his great patronage Śaivism flourished in his kingdom. He erected several temples and other religious buildings. He is said to have covered the Śiva temple of Cidambaram with gold.[31] His successors were his two sons, Gandarāditya and Ariñjaya.[32] The latter was succeeded by his son Sundara Coḷa.[33] The next ruler was Āditya II Karikala.[34] Uttama Coḷa succeeded him.[35] These rulers had inglorious reign. They not only ruled for very brief periods but did nothing for the prosperity of the Coḷa kingdom.

The next ruler was Sundara Cola's son, Rājarāja I (AD 985-1014).[36] He was also known as Mummaḍi-Coḷadeva, Jayangoṇḍa Coḷa-mārtaṇḍa etc.[37] "His accession put an end to dynastic intrigue, and placed at the head of the Coḷa state a man qualified to make it the leading power in the south. In the course of a busy reign of about twenty-eight years, Rājarāja passed from victory to victory, and, when he died, was beyond dispute the Lord Paramount of southern India, ruling a realm which included nearly the whole of the Madras Presidency, Ceylon and a large part of Mysore."[38] He conquered the Cera country, the Eastern Chālukya kingdom of Veṅgī, the Pāṇḍya country and the extensive regions in the table-land of the Deccan.[39] He then captured Quilon (Kollan) on the Malabar coast, and the northern kingdom of Kaliṅga and the portion of Ceylon which became known as Mummadi-Coḷa maṇḍalam.[40] He conquered Rattapadi and plundered the Chālukya territory, and also the eastern Chālukya country of Veṅgī.[41] He turned towards Mysore and defeated Gaṅgavāḍī and Nolambapāḍī.[42] He also acquired "the old islands of the sea numbering 12,000" which according to scholars, were the Laccadives and the Maldives.[43]

In AD 1012 Rājarāja I constructed the beautiful Śiva temple the great Rājarājeśvara temple at Tanjore.[44] "It is specially noted for its huge proportions, simple design, elegant sculptures, and fine decorative motifs." Nīlakānta Śastrī says that in this temple Rājarāja "included themes from Buddhism as well."[45] "In the great temple of Śiva the *vimāna* or tower is about 180 feet high, rising like a pyramid upon a base of 82 feet square in thirteen successive storeys. It is crowned by a single block of granite, 25 feet high and about 80 tons in weight."[46] Rājarāja I was a devout worshipper of Śiva. Under his patronage Śaivism prospered in his kingdom. He also showed his liberal attitudes towards other religions. Vaiṣṇavism flourished during his rule. He erected several temples of Viṣṇu and gave them grants.[47] He also showed his faith in Buddhism. The larger Leyden plates of Rājarāja alias Rājakesarīvarman describes that in the 21st year of his reign he gave the village of Anaimangalam to the Buddhist monastery at Negapattam which was founded there by the Śailendra king Māra-Vijayattuṅga-varman of Kaṭāha in Java.[48] It is said that after Rājarāja's death "the grant was ratified by a permanent edict by his son, who had the cognomen of Madhurāntaka."[49] It is to be mentioned here that the smaller Leyden grant in the 20th year of Kulottuṅga I of the Chālukya-Coḷa dynasty refers to the dedication of a village again to the same temple (AD 1084).[50] The inscription says, "After tracing the pedigree of the Coḷas the Sanskrit portion of the inscription states that king Rājarāja alias Rājakesarīvarman gave in the 21st year of his reign of village of Anaimangalam to the lofty shrine of the Buddha in the Cūlāmaṇivarman vihāra, which the ruler of Śrīvijaya and Kaṭāha named Maravijayatuṅgavarman of the Śailendra family having the Makara crest, the son of Cūḷāmaṇivarman, had erected in the name of his father at the delightful city of Nāgapaṭṭana in Paṭṭana-Kurram, a sub-division of Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi-Valanādu and that after Rājarāja had passed away, his son Madhurāntaka caused a permanent edict to be made for the village granted by his father."[51]

The next ruler was Rājendra Coḷadeva I Gaṅgaikoṇḍa (AD 1014-44). He was a worthy son of a worthy father. "He had already distinguished himself as a warrior in his father's campaigns, and as a ruler he displayed great administrative talent."[52] He conquered the whole Ceylon and subdued the kings of Kerala and Pāṇḍya.[53] He also came into conflict with the western Chālukya ruler, Jayasiṃha II Jagadekamalla (AD 1016-42).[54] He moved towards the north and his armies plundered the Pāla kingdom of Mahīpāla.[55] From the Tirumalai inscription one learns that Rājendra I defeated Odda-Viṣaya (Orissa), Kośalaināḍu (Southern Kośala), Dharmapāla of Taṇḍabutti (Daṇḍa-bhukti, the districts of Balasore and a portion of Midnāpore), Raṇaśūra of Takkana-lāḍāṃ (South Rāḍhā), Govindacandra of Bangladeśa (Eastern Bengal) and Uttara-lāḍāṃ (North Rāḍhā).[56] He also had a powerful fleet. It is said that he defeated Saṃgrāma-Vijayottuṅgavarman and conquered Kaṭāha or Kadāraṃ and other places in Further India.[57] He took the title of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa and founded a new capital called Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Cholapuraṃ (Trichinopoly district).[58] This has been identified with modern Gaṅgākuṇḍapuraṃ. Rājendra I also built a gigantic temple of Śivaliṅga.[59] "Its immense proportions, huge liṅgaṃ of solid granite, and delicate

carvings are specially striking."[60] It is said that he brought a number of Śaivas from the banks of the Ganges.[61] This shows that he was a devout worshipper of Śiva.

Rājādhirāja I (AD 1044-52) succeeded his father Rājendra-Coḷa I. He fought with Someśvara I Ahavamalla, the Western Chālukya ruler and became successful.[62] He also defeated the rulers of Pāṇḍya and Kerala.[63] But he was killed in the battle of Koppam in AD 1052.[64] The next ruler was his younger brother Rājendradeva II (AD 1052-63).[65] His reign also witnessed the war between the Coḷas and the Chālukyas. Vīra-Rājendra Rājakesarī (AD 1063-70), who was his younger brother, succeeded him.[66] During his reign the war between the Coḷas and the Chālukyas continued. He also came into conflict with the Western Chālukya ruler Someśvara I and defeated him in fierce fight.[67] He conquered Kaliṅga and Cakka-Kottaṃ and recaptured Veṅgī and established again Vijayāditya VII on the throne.[68] He subdued the rulers of Pāṇḍya and Kerala and Vijayabāhu of Ceylon. Because the latter made an effort to drive away the Coḷas from Ceylon.[69] Vīra-Rājendra also gave Western Chālukya ruler Vikramāditya VI his daughter in marriage.[70]

The next ruler was Adhirājendra (AD 1070), who was Vīra-Rājendra's son.[71] He ruled for a very short period. Then Rājendra, who was also known as Kulottuṅga I (AD 1070-1122), occupied the throne.[72] V.A. Smith says, "Rājendra, whose mother was a daughter of the famous Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Coḷa was the son of the Eastern Chālukya prince of Veṅgī who had died in 1062. But Rājendra had professed to remain at the Coḷa court, and had allowed his uncle to rule Veṅgī for some years. In 1070 Rājendra was crowned as lord of Veṅgī and four years later when Adhirājendra was murdered, he assumed the government of the whole Coḷa territory. He thus founded a new Chālukya-Coḷa dynasty, taking the title of Kulottuṅga-Coḷa."[73] He ruled for a very long time. He recaptured Kaliṅga and defeated the Eastern Gaṅga king.[74]

Kullottuṅga I was a devout worshipper of Śiva. He played a vital role for the progress of Śaivism in his kingdom. The smaller Leyden grant says that in the 20th year of his reign, Kulottuṅga dedicated to a Buddhist monastery at Negapattam in AD 1084.[75] This indicates his tolerant attitude towards Buddhism. But owing to his hostility, Rāmānuja, the great Vaiṣṇava teacher, left Śrīrangam near Trichinopoly and went to stay in Mysore.[76]

The next ruler was Kulottuṅga I's son Vikrama-Coḷa (AD 1122-33).[77] It is very probable that he was a Vaiṣṇava. Because during his rule Rāmānuja returned to the Coḷa country from Mysore.[78] Kulottuṅga II (AD 1133-47) ascended the throne after him. He was succeeded by Rājarāja II (AD 1147-62). After him, Rājādhirāja II (AD 1162-78) came to the throne. They were all weak rulers. During their rule the power of the Coḷas declined. The next ruler was Kulottuṅga III (AD 1178-1216). He was succeeded by Rājarāja III (AD 1216-52). During his rule Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I sacked Tanjore.[79] The next ruler was Rājendra III. He was succeeded by Rājendra IV (AD 1252-79).[80] It is said that during his rule Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya attacked the Coḷa kingdom and captured Kāñcī. Owing to the rise of the Pāṇḍyas the Coḷa power suffered very much and it declined miserably.

The Coḷa rulers were followers of Śaivism. They were devotees of Lord Śiva. They played their vital roles for the development and progress of Śaivism in their kingdom. Under their noble patronage Śaivism occupied the most prominent place in the religious world of the Coḷa dynasty. Nīlakānta Śāstrī says that the names Īśāna, Śiva and Sarva Śiva in the inscriptions of Rājarāja I and Rājendra Coḷadeva I clearly show the "North Indian connections of Śaivism of the Coḷa court."[81] Rājendra Coḷadeva I is said to have brought a number of Śaivas from the banks of the Ganges.[82] He did this for the popularity of Śaivism and his great devotion to it. It is to be noted here that though the Coḷa rulers were Śaivas, but they tolerated other faiths then prevailed in their kingdom. Rājarāja I was a worshipper of Śiva. But he erected temples of Viṣṇu and offered gifts to the Buddhist vihāra at Negapattam.[83] Kulottuṅga I himself was a Śaiva, but he dedicated a village again to the same Buddhist vihāra at Negapattam.[84] Nīlakānta Śāstrī mentions that Rājarāja I in the decorative motifs of the Śiva temple of Tanjore "included themes from Buddhism as well."[85] L.D. Barnett reviewed a manuscript of the *Upāsakajanālaṃkāra* of Mahāthera Ānanda.[86] In it there is a reference to the king, who patronised Buddhism. He has been indentified by scholars with Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga.[87] According to Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī, he was Rājendra Coḷadeva I.[88] This indicates the development of Buddhism side by side with Śaivism in the Coḷa kingdom. K.A. Nīlakānta Śāstrī describes, "In the Tamil country, Buddhism declined rapidly as a result of the activities of the Hindu saints and reformers, but it lingered on feebly in different parts of the country. Under the Coḷas there were Buddhist settlements in Negapattam on the east coast and at Śrīmūlavāsam in the west; and Buddhism was considered sufficiently important for some scenes from Buddha's life to be represented in the decorative panels in a balustrade of the great temple of Tanjore. The ancient Velgam Vehera on the banks of the Periyakulam tank near Trincomalee in Ceylon was remodelled and considerably extended, and renamed Rājarāja Perumballi early

in the eleventh century; a large size limestone image of the Buddha and an inscribed bronze lampstand are among the finds in the vihāra area—clear proof of the active interest of the great Coḷa monarch in the spiritual well-being of his subjects in Ceylon. An important work of Tamil grammar, the *Vīrasoḷiyam* composed in Vīrarājendra's time, has a Buddhist scholar for its author. One section of Kāñcipuram bore the name of Buddhakāñcī to a relatively late date, and a Buddhist monk from one of the monasteries there sang the praises of a Hindu ruler of Eastern Jāvā in the fourteenth century."[89] Jainism also prospered there. K.A. Nīlakānta Śāstrī mentions: "Jainism had more influence than Buddhism on the life of the people, particularly in Karṇāṭaka and in the Tamil country owing to the striking contributions made by Jaina authors to the literatures of Kannaḍa and Tamil."[90] It should be mentioned here that owing to the hostility of the Śaiva Kulottuṅga I, the celebrated Vaiṣṇava teacher Rāmānuja could not stay at Śrīraṅgam. He was compelled to leave that place and went to Mysore to live under Biṭṭiga Viṣṇuvardhana Hoysala's protection.[91] The Vaiṣṇava teacher returned to the Coḷa kingdom during the rule of Vikrama-Coḷa who showed his great respect to this holy man.[92] But, why Kulottuṅga I showed his intolerant attitude towards the Vaiṣṇava teacher, it is difficult to explain. Such instances were very rare really. Because Vaiṣṇava Āḷvars and Śaiva Nayanmārs preached their doctrines freely in the kingdom of the Coḷa rulers.

Genealogy

The Coḷas[93]

Karikala (Karikkal)
|
Nedumudi Killi
|
Vijayāditya
|
Āditya I
|
Parāntaka
|
Rājāditya — Gandarāditya — Ariñjaya

Gandarāditya → Madhurāntaka, Uttama Coḷa

Ariñjaya → Sundara Coḷa Parāntaka II
|
Āditya II Karikala — Rājarāja I

Rājarāja I
|
Rājendra-Coḷadeva I Gangaikoṇḍa
|
Rājādhirāja I — Rājendradeva II — Vīra Rājendra I

Rājendradeva II
|
Rājamahendra

Vīra Rājendra I
|
Adhi Rājendra

The Coḷa-Chālukya Rulers[94]

Kulottuṅga
Vikrama Coḷa
Kulottuṅga II
Rājarāja II
Rājādhirāja II
Kulottuṅga III
Rājarāja III
Rājendra III
Rājendra IV

References

1 *EHI*, 480.
2 *HAI*, 457.
3 Ibid.; *EHI*, 480.
4 *HAI*, 457; *EHI*, 480-81.
5 *HAI*, 457.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.; *CSHI*, 146.
8 *HAI*, 457-58.
9 *EHI*, 481.
10 Ibid.; *CSHI*, 146; *HAI*, 458.
11 *HAI*, 146.
12 Ibid., 458.
13 *CSHI*, 146.
14 Ibid.; *EHI*, 481.
15 *CSHI*, 146; *EHI*, 482.
16 *HAI*, 458.
17 Ibid., 458-59; *EHI*, 482-83.
18 *EHI*, 483.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid., 484; *HAI*, 459; *CSHI*, 147.
21 *EHI*, 459.
22 Ibid.; *CSHI*, 147.
23 *EHI*, 459; *CSHI*, 147; *EHI*, 484.
24 *EHI*, 460; *CSHI*, 147; *EHI*, 484.
25 *EHI*, 460.
26 Ibid., 484; *CSHI*, 147.
27 *EHI*, 460; *CSHI*, 147.
28 Ibid., 460.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid., 460-61; *CSHI*, 147.
31 *EHI*, 461.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid., 461, 485; *CSHI*, 147.
37 *EHI*, 461.
38 Ibid.; *HAI*, 462.
39 Ibid., 485
40 *EHI*, 462.

[41]Ibid.
[42]Ibid.
[43]Ibid.
[44]Ibid., 463, 486; *CSHI*, 147.
[45]*DBI*, 109; *The Colas*, II, III, 485.
[46]*HAI*, 479.
[47]Ibid., 463.
[48]Ibid.; *DBI*, 109.
[49]*HAI*, 109.
[50]Ibid.
[51]*EI*, XXII, 1933-34, 222.
[52]*CSHI*, 147.
[53]*HAI*, 464.
[54]Ibid.
[55]Ibid.
[56]Ibid., 464-65.
[57]Ibid., 465.
[58]Ibid.
[59]Ibid., 466; *EHI*, 487.
[60]Ibid., 479.
[61]Ibid., 455.
[62]Ibid., 466, fn 1.
[63]Ibid., 466.
[64]Ibid.
[65]Ibid., 466-67.
[66]Ibid., 467.
[67]Ibid.; *CSHI*, 148-49.
[68]*HAI*, 468.
[69]Ibid.
[70]Ibid.; *EHI*, 488.
[71]*HAI*, 468; *EHI*, 488.
[72]Ibid.
[73]*HAI*, 488-89.
[74]Ibid., 489.
[75]Ibid., 470; *DBI*, 109.
[76]*HAI*, 470; *EHI*, 489.
[77]*HAI*, 471; *EHI*, 489.
[78]*HAI*, 471.
[79]Ibid., 471-72.
[80]Ibid., 472.
[81]Ibid., 479, fn 1; *The Colas*, I, II, 221.
[82]*HAI*, 465.
[83]Ibid., 480; *EI*, XXII, 222; *DBI*, 109.
[84]*HAI*, 480; *DBI*, 109.
[85]*DBI*, 109; *The Colas*, I, II, 485.
[86]*DBI*, 109; *JRASGBI*, 1901, 87-90.
[87]*DBI*, 109.
[88]Ibid.; *SII*, VIII, Introduction 22.
[89]*HSI*, 437.
[90]Ibid.
[91]*HAI*, 470, 480; *EHI*, 489.
[92]*HAI*, 480; *EHI*, 489.
[93]*HAI*, 456-80; *MCI*, 84.
[94]*HAI*, 460-80.

12. THE PĀṆḌYAS OF MADURĀ

The Pāṇḍya country corresponded to present districts of Madurā, Rāmnad, and Tinnevelly.[1] Its capital was Madhurā (Madurā), the "Mathurā of the South." Kātyāyana (4th century BC) in his commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* mentions the Pāṇḍya kingdom.[2] The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki refers to the wealth of the Pāṇḍya capital.[3] Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* describes a special kind of pearl called Pāṇḍakāvaṭaka found in Pāṇḍyakāvaṭa (a mountain in the Pāṇḍya country).[4] Megasthenes says that "females governed the Pāṇḍaian nation,[5] and that they bore children at the age of six years.[6] He further deposes that Herakles had only one daughter named Pandaia, and 'the land in which she was born, and with the sovereignty of which he (Herakles) entrusted her, was called after her name, Paṇḍaia, and she received from the hands of her father 500 elephants, a force of cavalry 4,000 strong and another of infantry consisting of about 1,30,000 men'."[7] Aśoka in his Rock Edicts II and XIII states that the Pāṇḍyas as an independent people lived on the southern frontiers of his empire.[8] *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* and *The Geography of Ptole y* give an account of the Pandinoi with their capital Modoura (Madurā) and other cities and trading centres.[9] In the writings of Strabo there is a reference to "king Pandion" who despatched an embassy in 20 BC to the court of the great Roman

emperor Augustus Caesar.[10] Even the Hāthigumpha inscription informs us that Khāravela of Kaliṅga defeated the Pāṇḍya king.[11]

The first important ruler of the Pāṇḍya dynasty was Kaḍungon.[12] It is very probable that he belonged to the seventh century AD. His son was Māravarman Avani Sulāmanī. The next ruler was Arikeśari Māravarman.[13] He belonged to the second half of the seventh century AD. He has been identified with Neḍumaran or Kuna Pāṇḍya.[14] This ruler at first was a follower of Jainism. But, afterwards he became a worshipper of Lord Śiva. Under the influence of Saint Tirujñānasambandar he was converted to Śaivism.[15] His successor was Koccadayan Raṇadhīra. He was a great conqueror. He had numerous titles of honour on the battle-field.[16] His son was Māravarman Rājasiṃha I. He is said to have conquered the Pallava king, Pallavamalla.[17] The next ruler was Neḍuñjadayan Varguna I (AD 765-815).[18] These rulers played their prominent roles in the political history of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom and extended their territories on all sides. Neḍunjadayan conquered Kongudeśa (modern Coimbatore and Salem districts) and Venāḍa (South Travancore).[19] He was succeeded by his son Śrī-Māra-Śrī-Vallabha (AD 815-62).[20] He not only conquered Ceylon but also defeated the Pallavas, the Gaṅgas and the Coḷas at Kudamukku (Kumbakonam).[21] The next ruler was Varaguṇavarman or Varaguṇa II. He was defeated at the hands of the Pallava ruler Aparājitavarman.[22] The Pāṇḍyan ruler Māravarman Rājasiṃha II with the help of the ruler of Ceylon invaded the Coḷa kingdom.[23] But the invaders suffered a defeat at the hands of the Coḷa ruler Parāntaka I at Velur and the Pāṇḍya king in order to save his life fled to Ceylon. The Coḷa ruler then captured the Pāṇḍya territories and occupied the Pāṇḍya capital. It is for this reason he took the title of "Maduraikoṇḍa."[24] Thus from the first half of the tenth century AD to the beginning of the thirteenth century AD the Pāṇḍyas were deprived of their political independence. They not only lost their independence but also they remained under the rule of the Coḷa dynasty for three centuries. Rājendra Coḷadeva I made the Pāṇḍya territories a province of the Coḷa empire, and he appointed his son Jātavarman Sundara with the title Coḷa-Pāṇḍya as its viceroy.[25]

The appearance of Jātavarman Kulaśekhara at the end of the twelfth century AD "may be regarded as the turning point in the fortunes of the Pāṇḍyas."[26] In the meantime the Coḷas after the death of Kulottuṅga III (AD 1178-1216) declined rapidly and this helped the Pāṇḍyas to recover much of their lost glory.[27] The reign of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (AD 1216-38) witnessed the revival of the Pāṇḍya power.[28] He conquered the Coḷa territories and burnt Tanjore and Uraiyur.[29] But he could not do any damage further

against the Colas owing to the interference of Narasimha II Hoysala who is mentioned in an epigraph as the "displacer of Pāṇḍya and establisher of the Cola kingdom."[30] The next ruler was Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II (AD 1238-51).[31] He was succeeded by Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (AD 1251-72).[32] He was regarded as "the greatest of the later Pāṇḍya dynasty." During his rule the Pāṇḍyas reached the zenith of its glory. He completely destroyed the Cola power in the south, conquered Kāñcī and defeated the Cera country, Koṅgudeśa and Ceylon.[33] He also captured the fortress of Kunnanur-Koppam of the Hoysalas and defeated a Hoysala force at Perambalur.[34] He also defeated Gaṇapati, the Kākatiya ruler of Warangal and Kopperuñjinga, the Pallava ruler of Sendamaṅgalam.[35] He took the title of Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Parameśvara. He is "recorded to have given largess on occasions of the many sacrifices that he performed; and he also richly adorned and endowed the temples of Cidambaram and Śrī Raṅgam."[36] This shows that he was a worshipper of Lord Śiva. The next ruler was Māravarman Kulaśekhara. He fought successfully in Malaināḍu (Travancore country) and invaded Ceylon.[37] His legitimate son, Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, murdered him because Vīra Pāṇḍya, his illegitimate half-brother was selected to succeed to the throne, and the civil war broke out.[38] Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya was defeated and he sought Alauddin Khilji's help. Malik Kafur, the Sultan's general, led an expedition to Madurā in AD 1310 and destroyed it and carried away its wealth and other valuable things.[39] A few years later Alauddin Khilji's general Khusru Khan invaded Madurā again with a strong force.[40] Taking advantage of the situation, the Cera king Ravivarman Kulaśekhara defeated Vīra Pāṇḍya and his brother in AD 1315 and the Pāṇḍyas became his subjects.[41] The Kākatiyas of Warangal also captured some of the conquered territory from the Cera king.[42] This brought the downfall of the Pāṇḍya kingdom. But several minor rulers of the Pāṇḍya line ruled upto the eighteenth century in Tinnevelly and its neighbouring region.[43]

Hiuen-tsang visited southern India in AD 640. During the rainy season he stayed at Kāñcī, the capital of the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman. He never visited the Pāṇḍya country. But his Buddhist friends at Kāñcī gave him information and he recorded it in his account. He refers to the Pāṇḍya country as Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a or Malakūṭa or Malakoṭṭa.[44] He makes no mention of its capital. He does not say anything about its ruler. "It is probable that the Pāṇḍya rājā at that time was a tributary of the powerful Pallava king of Kāñcī."[45] Hiuen-tsang says, "The temperature is very hot. The men are dark-complexioned. They are firm and impetuous in disposition. Some follow the true doctrine, others are given to heresy. They do not

esteem learning much, but are wholly given to commercial gain. There are the ruins of many old convents, but only the walls are preserved, and there are few religious followers. There are many hundred Deva-temples, and a multitude of heretics, mostly belonging to the Nirgranthas."[46] His account shows us that Brahmanism prospered in the Pāṇḍya kingdom. The Pāṇḍya rulers were all followers of Śaivism. But Buddhism did not flourish in the Pāṇḍya kingdom. It declined miserably. Because it had not many followers and many Buddhist monasteries were in ruins. This indicates that this place in early days was an important Buddhist centre. But now due to want of its patronage it neither prospered nor made a contribution to the religious world of the Pāṇḍya kingdom.

Hiuen-tsang's record gives us information about the flourishing condition of Jainism in the Pāṇḍya country. It had many Jaina temples and Digambara Jainas used to live there. King Nedumaran Pāṇḍya was originally a Jaina. But in the middle of the seventh century AD he was converted to Śaivism by the famous saint Tirujñānasambandar. This ruler "displayed even more than the proverbial zeal of a convert, and persecuted his late co-religionists, who refused to apostatize with the most savage cruelty, inflicting on no less than eight thousand innocent persons a horrible death by impalement. Certain unpublished sculptures on a walls of a temple at Trivatur (Tiruvattur) in Arcot record these executions and are regarded as confirmation of the tradition. The position of the Jaina religion in the South was much shaken by the persecution, which evidently was a reality, although possibly exaggerated."[47] T. A. Gopinatha Rao says that "the event took place at Madurā, where it is celebrated as 'the impalement of the Jainas' on the 7th day of the Mahotsava of Śiva, and is treated as an utsava."[48]

GENEALOGY

The Pāṇḍyas[49]

Kaḍungon
Māravarman Avani Sulamānī
Sendan
Arikesari Māravarman, Nedumaran, Kuna Pāṇḍya
Koccādayan Raṇadhīra
Māravarman Rājasiṃha I
Jetila Parāntaka Neḍunjadayan Varguṇa I
Śrī-Māra-Śrī-Vallabha
Varaguṇavarman, Varguṇa II
Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa

Māravarman Rājasiṃha II
Jātavarman Kulaśekhara
Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I
Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II
Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya
Māravarman Kulaśekhara
Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya
Vīra Pāṇḍya

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[1] *HAI*, 481.
[2] Ibid., 481; *EHI*, 470.
[3] *HAI*, 481.
[4] Ibid.; *AS*, Bk. 1, ch. XI, 76.
[5] *HAI*, 482; *AIMA*, LVI, B, 161.
[6] *HAI*, 482; *AIMA*, LI, 115.
[7] *HAI*, 482; *AIMA*, Arrian, VIII, 206; *EHI*, 470.
[8] *HAI*, 482.
[9] Ibid.; *EHI*, 471.
[10] *HAI*, 482; Strabo, XV, 4, 73.
[11] *HAI*, 482.
[12] Ibid., 483; *CSHI*, 142.
[13] *HAI*, 483.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] *CSHI*, 142.
[17] Ibid.
[18] *HAI*, 483-84.
[19] Ibid., 484.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.; *CSHI*, 143.
[22] *HAI*, 484.
[23] Ibid.; *CSHI*, 143.
[24] *HAI*, 484.
[25] Ibid., 485.
[26] Ibid., 486.
[27] Ibid.; *CSHI*, 144.
[28] *CSHI*, 144.
[29] *HAI*, 486.
[30] Ibid.; *CSHI*, 144.
[31] Ibid.
[32] *HAI*, 487; *CSHI*, 144-45.
[33] *HAI*, 487; *CSHI*, 145.
[34] *HAI*, 487; *CSHI*, 145.
[35] *HAI*, 487.
[36] Ibid., fn 1.
[37] Ibid., 487; *CSHI*, 145.
[38] *HAI*, 488; *CSHI*, 145.
[39] *HAI*, 488; *CSHI*, 145.
[40] *HAI*, 488; *CSHI*, 145-46.
[41] *HAI*, 488; *CSHI*, 146.
[42] *CSHI*, 146.
[43] Ibid.; *HAI*, 488.
[44] *HAI*, 489; *EHI*, 472.
[45] *EHI*, 472.
[46] *HAI*, 489.
[47] *EHI*, 474-75.
[48] Ibid., 475, fn 1; *EHIG*, 55.
[49] *HAI*, 481-89; *CSHI*, 142-46.

CONCLUSION

The Chālukyas of Vātāpi (Bādāmi) were Brahmins. Under their patronage Brahmanism flourished to a great extent. But they tolerated other faiths. That is why, Jainism prospered during their rule. But no record says anything about the contribution of the Chālukya rulers to the development of Buddhism. But Hiuen-tsang mentions that there were more than 100 Buddhist monasteries with 5000 Buddhist monks of both Vehicles in the Chālukya kingdom of Vātāpi. This indicates the prevalence of Buddhism there. The Belur inscription of the Chālukya ruler Jayasiṃha of Kalyāṇa says that the king's eldest sister Akkādevī practised the religious observances enjoined

by the rituals of Jina, Buddha, Ananta (Viṣṇu) and Rudra (Śiva). The reign of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramāditya II of Kalyāṇa witnessed the construction of a Buddhist vihāra and a temple at Dharmavolal (modern Dambol) in the Dhārvāda district by sixteen merchants of the Vaiśya caste. There is a reference to the establishment of an image of the Buddha along with those of Śiva and *arhat* and the assignment of lands for their support. The reign of Vijjala marked the foundation of a new sect of Vīra Śaivas or the Liṅgāyats. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers were votaries of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. During their rule not only the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu grew popular in the Deccan, but Jainism also attained its prosperity. The Kaṇheri inscriptions of the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Amoghavarṣa I show that Buddhism had its followers and benefactors and its chief centre at that time was Kaṇheri in the Deccan. Nothing is known about Buddhism from the records of the Yādavas, the Kākatiyas, the Kadambas and the Gaṅgas. The Yādavas were orthodox Hindus. The Kadambas were followers of Brahmanism. The Gaṅga rulers were Jainas. "Jainism was the state creed in the time of Gaṅgas, of some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Kalacuryas, and of the early Hoysalas. But the Coḷa conquests in 1004, the conversion of the Hoysala king in 1117 and the assassination of the Kalacurya king in 1167 were severe blows to its influence. In an endeavour to accommodate itself to the age, Jina is described in 1151 as the Universal spirit who is Śiva, Dhatri (Brahmā), Sugata (Buddha) and Viṣṇu; and for a generation following we find chieftains who were supporters of all the four creeds—Maheśvara, Jaina, Vaiṣṇava and Buddha."[1] Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism flourished side by side under the patronage of the Śilāhāra rulers. The Kaṇheri inscription of AD 843 refers to the gift of various necessaries, the repair of damages and the grant of funds for the purchase of books, for the Buddhist monks by a minister of the Śilāhāra feudatories of Konkan. The Miraj grant of Śilāhāra ruler Gandarāditya not only refers to the construction of temples of Mahādeva (Śaṅkara), Jina and the Buddha on the bank of the lake Gaṇḍasāgara or Gaṇḍasamudra, but also describes grant of land to each of the three gods mentioned above. The Hoysalas who were originally the followers of Jainism but were converted to Vaiṣṇavism. The Ciknayakahelli inscription of AD 1181 of Ballāladeva Dvārasamudra describes Ballāladeva as a supporter of the four Samayas, Maheśvara, Buddha, Vaiṣṇava and *arhat*. Hiuen-tsang throws flood of light on the development of Buddhism in the Pallava kingdom and some of the early Pallava rulers were followers of Buddhism. The Chinese traveller says that the country had some hundreds of Saṅghārāmas with 10,000 priests. The Coḷa rulers were Śaivas but

epigraphical records give us sufficient evidence to show us that not only Rājarāja I granted a village to the Buddhist monastery at Negapattam but Kulottunga I also dedicated a village to the same vihāra. Brahmanism prospered in the Pāṇḍya kingdom. The Pāṇḍyas were worshippers of Lord Śiva. Hiuen-tsang records the flourishing condition of Jainism in the Pāṇḍya country. But his account informs us that Buddhism did not prosper at all. Thus from the above facts we conclude that though Buddhism was no longer the most vital force in the religious history of India but it is quite certain that it still prevailed in some regions of southern India.

Rama Shankar Tripathi observes: "The first point to strike us is that Buddhism was no longer an active force in India. But it certainly lingered on in some localities. We learn that in the course of his itinerary Yuan Chwang (c. AD 629-45) saw "some hundred of Saṅghārāmas and 10,000 priests" in Kāñcī. They studied the teaching of the Sthāvira school and belonged to the Mahāyāna. It may, therefore, be reasonably presumed that Buddhism may have survived in the Pallava kingdom long after the visit of Yuan Chwang. Its existence in the south is also proved by the gifts made by Rājarāja I Cola, an ardent Śaiva, to the Buddhist vihāra at Negapattam, and by those of Kulottuṅga I to another Buddhist vihāra. In the Deccan its chief centre were Kampilya (Sholāpur district), Dambal (Dhārvāḍ district) and Kanheri (Thāṇā district). When the Moslem first came to Sind in the beginning of the eighth century, they found there a fairly large population of Buddhists. The Pālas were, of course, patrons of Buddhism, and they generously endowed Buddhist monasteries in Bengal and Magadha, where it may be traced up to the time of Bakhtyar Khilji's invasion. But here Buddhism had moved far away from its original moorings. Indeed, the new Tāntric forms which it had developed had transformed it almost beyond recognition. The monks were, however, still fired with missionary zeal, and as an instance we may mention the famous Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, called the Tibetans Atīśa, who is known to have gone beyond the frontiers of India to Tibet about the middle of the eleventh century to spread the light of his faith. Unlike Buddhism, the Jaina church appears to have gained in strength in some parts of India. In the Deccan it was honoured by certain early Chālukya kings and by Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers like Amoghavarṣa I, Indra IV, Kṛṣṇa II and Indra III. Many of the western Gaṅga kings also were favourably disposed towards it. The great Bittiga Viṣṇuvardhana Hoysala was originally a Jaina in his beliefs, but was converted to Vaiṣṇavism later in life by ācārya Rāmānuja. Under the Colas, who were staunch Śaivas, the Jainas continued to pursue their tenets in peace. Describing Mo-lu-kiu-

cha's (Mallakūṭa) or the Pāṇḍya country in AD 640, Yuan Chwang refers to "a multitude of heretics mostly belonging to the Nirgranthas." Similarly, he mentions "many Nirgranthas" living in the kingdom of Kāñcī. Accordingly, it may be supposed that there must have been a fairly good Jaina population in the Pallava and Pāṇḍya realms in the succeeding centuries. But Jainism had its most notable triumph under Kumārapāla Chālukya (c. AD 1143-72), who drew inspiration from the great ācārya Hemacandra. It is believed that as a result of the latter's preaching and encyclopaedic learning Jainism rapidly spread in Gujarat, Kāṭhiāwāḍ, Kaccha, Rājputānā and Mālwā. In the North, however its influence remained very limited for lack of royal patronage. Here as well as in southern India the dominant faith was Brahmanism or Paurāṇic Hinduism, and the princes and the common people alike venerated the Brahmanical gods. Among these, the most prominent were Viṣṇu and Śiva, who were known by a number of other names also. The pantheon further included Brahmā, Sūrya, Vināyaka or Dāmodara (Gaṇeśa), Kumāra Skanda, Svāmī Mahāsena or Kārtikeya, Indra, Agni, Yama, Varuṇa, Marut and goddesses like the divine Mothers (Mātṛkas), Bhagavatī or Durgā, Śrī (Lakṣmī), besides a host of minor deities. Many of them still command popular allegiance, and thus modern Hinduism may be said to have taken shape by this period. We further learn that Govindacandra Gāhaḍavāla, and Rājarāja I Cola and Kulottuṅga I granted villages to Buddhist vihāras. This must have doubtless promoted a spirit of toleration and concord among the votaries of the various competing sects. Persecution and sectarian animosity were, therefore, not much in evidence then. An instance to the contrary is, of course, furnished by the aforesaid Kulottuṅga I, whose disfavour compelled the great Vaiṣṇava reformer, Rāmānuja to leave Śrīraṅgam and retire to the Hoysala dominions. His return was made possible only when Vikrama Cola revised his father's attitude towards him. Generally, however, the Colas and other rulers of the South were tolerant of all creeds, and Vaiṣṇava Āḷvāras and Śaiva Nayanmāras were free to preach and propagate their doctrines. These religious teachers infused new life and vitality in the current beliefs and practices by their precept and example. South India also produced during this period such towering personalities as Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, Śaṅkarācārya and Mādhavācārya, who have left an indelible impress on Hindu religion and philosophy by their moral fervour and intellectual grandeur. Lastly, it may be noted that Vedic sacrifices do not appear to have been the vogue then. In the inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, however, there are references to the performance of Hiraṇyagarbha ceremony and Tulādānas. A Cola inscription of the

time of Rājādhirāja I (*c.* AD 1044-52) also contains a solitary allusion to the Aśvamedha. Probably greater stress now began to be laid on *dāna* (gifts) than on *yājñas* (sacrifices) with their intricate and cumbersome details.[2]

References

[1] *MCI*, 203. [2] *HAI*, 582-86.

Part Two

Chapter 11

India in AD 630 as Described by Hiuen-tsang

	Name of country 1	*King* 2	*People* 3
1.	Kapiśa (Kabul or Kafiristan)	Kṣatriya Buddhist	Generally Buddhist.
(a)	Lampāka or Lampā (Laghman) going east and crossing Black range	Dependency of Kapīśa	Non-Buddhists very numerous, the brethren very few; people ill-mannered and ugly.
(b)	Nagar (Jalalabad) south-east crossing a mountain and a river	Province of Kapīśa	The people reverenced Buddha and had little faith in other systems.
(c)	Gandhāra (Peshawar) south-east, upto the Indus	Subject to Kapīśa	Majority adhered to other systems of religion. Towns and villages desolate, Śālatura, birth-place of Pāṇini, mentioned in this country.
2.	Udyāna (Swāt), going north crossing rivers	King not mentioned	People held Buddhism in high esteem and were believers in Mahāyāna.
(a)	Taxila (Rawalpindi) returning south and crossing the Indus	Subject formerly to Kapīśa, but now to Kashmir	People who were Plucky, were adherents of Buddhism.
(b)	Siṃhapura (Ketas near	Subject to Kashmir	Religion no. mentioned.

	1	2	3
	Salt Range), South-East across hills, Indus west for frontier (Shāhapur)		
(c)	Uraśa (Haripur) Jhelum	Subject to Kashmir	The people were not Buddhists.
3.	Kashmir south-east	King protected by Dragon	People were both orthodox and heterodox; they were handsome and fond of learning but deceitful.
(a)	Punach south-west	Subject to Kashmir	...
(b)	Rājapura (Rajaori) south-east	Subject to Kashmir	Non-Buddhists were very numerous.
4.	Tekka (old capital Akala or Sialkot) going south-east, Indus on the west, Bias on the east	King not mentioned	Few believed in Buddhism and most served the Devas.
5.	Cinabhukti (Paṭṭi) going eastward	Former king Mihirakula	Orthodoxy and heterodoxy had their adherents. There were no monasteries. There were 9 Deva-temples.
6.	Jālandhara (Jullunder) north-east	King not mentioned. A former king was in sole control of matters relating to Buddhism	50 monasteries and 3 Deva-temples with professed non-Buddhists of the Pāśupata sect.
7.	Kuluta (Kulu) among mountains going north-east	King not mentioned	20 monasteries and 15 Deva-temples.

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8	Śatadru going south the Sutlej on west	King not mentioned	People devout Buddhists.
9.	Pāriyātra (Bairāt) going south-west	King of the Vaiśya caste name not mentioned	8 monasteries in ruin; 10 Deva-temples with 10,000 non-Buddhists.
10.	Mathurā eastward	King not mentioned	People were moral and very intellectual; 20 monasteries with 2000 brethren and 5 Deva-temples.
11.	Sthāneśvara (Thāneśar) going north-east	King not mentioned	Non-Buddhists were very numerous. 3 monasteries and about 100 Deva-temples. There is here an indirect mention of the *Bhagavadgītā*.
12.	Śrughna north-east, the Jumnā flowing through the middle. Snowy mountains on the north, the Ganges on the east	King not mentioned	There were 100 Deva-temples and the non-Buddhists were numerous.
13.	Matipura (Western Rohilkhand) crossing to the eastern bank of the Ganges	Of Śūdra caste did not believe in Buddhism and worshipped the Devas	The people were equally divided between Buddhism and other religions.
14.	Brahmapura (Garhwal and Kumaon) going north	Not mentioned	5 monasteries with very few brethren, 10 Deva-temples.
15.	Goviṣāna (Kāśīpur, Rāmpur) south-east of Matipura	Not mentioned	People honest and sincere and applied themselves to learning. Most of them non-Buddhists.

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16.	Ahicchatra (Eastern Rohilkhand and Pīlībhīt) going south-east	Not mentioned	10 monasteries; 9 Deva-temples; 300 worshippers of the Pāśupata sect.
17.	Pilośana (after crossing the Ganges south) capital near Atranji	Not mentioned	The people were mainly non-Buddhists.
18.	Sārkāṣya or Kapitha, south-east	Not mentioned	4 monasteries, 10 Deva-temples, non-Buddhists were Śaivites.
19.	Kanauj, south-east capital to the east of the Ganges	Harṣa of the Vaiśya caste	The people were equally divided between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. There were temples to the Sun-god and Maheśvara in the city. The people had a refined appearance and dressed in silk attire. They were given to learning and the arts.
20.	Ayute (Ayodhyā) going south-east and crossing the Ganges (another river) to the south.	King not mentioned	100 monasteries with 3000 brethren and 10 temples. There were few non-Buddhists and Asaṅga preached in this city.
21.	Ayomukha (?) east and crossing the Ganges to the north	Not mentioned	People equally divided and there were 5 monasteries and 10 Deva-temples.
22.	Prayāga (Allahabad) going south-east and crossing the Ganges on the south and north of the Jumnā	Not mentioned	Majority of the non-Buddhists. In front of the Deva-temple a big banyan tree from which people threw themselves down to die. At the confluence also people bathed and then starved themselves to death.

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23.	Kośambī going south-west through a forest	Not mentioned. Udayana ancient king made a sandal wood image of Buddha which was in the palace temple	Non-Buddhists were very numerous.
24.	Viśoka going north	Not mentioned	Non-Buddhists were very numerous.
25.	Śrāvastī (Kośala) going north-east	Not mentioned. In Buddha's time sect of King Prasenajit	Non-Buddhist were very numerous. The people were honest and fond of learning.
26.	Kapilavastu (deserted kingdom) going south-east	No king, each city had its own king	There were 2 Deva-temples and remains of 1000 monasteries. (These three were probably no kingdoms but places connected with Buddha's life. Kapilavastu was his birth-place and Kuśinagara his death place.)
27.	Rāmagrāma (the country devastated) going east through a forest and inhabitants few	No king	
28.	Kuśinagara (all in ruin, few inhabitants) north-east	No king	
29.	Benares (Ganges on the west) south-west of Kuśinagara	Not mentioned	Majority believed in other systems, only a few believed in Buddhism. The people were gentle and courteous, majority being devotees of Śiva.

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			There was a metal image of the Deva (Śiva) nearly 100 feet high which was life-like in the awe-inspiring majority.
30.	Cancu (Yaudheya) going eastward along the Ganges capital Ghazipur	King not mentioned	10 monasteries, 20 Deva-temples. On the south of the Ganges was a Mahāśāla where all the inhabitants were Brahmins and there were no Buddhists. On the north of the Ganges was a Nārāyaṇa temple with a most beautiful image.
31.	Vaiśālī, crossing the Ganges north-east	Not mentioned	The people both orthodox and heterodox. The Digambaras flourished.
32.	Vṛjji, going north-east	Not mentioned	Very few Buddhists, non-Buddhists were numerous.
33.	Nepal (in the snowy mountains, directions not mentioned)	Kings were Kṣatriya Licchavis. There were eminent scholars and believed in Buddha. Anśuvarman a recent king had written a treatise on Etymology	The people were rude and deceitful and ugly in appearance but skilled merchants. They believed both the false and true religions. Monasteries and Deva-temples touching each other.
34.	Magadha, from Vaiśālī south, after crossing the Ganges. Old capital Rājagṛha, new Pāṭaliputra	Not mentioned, but in the life we are told that Pūrṇavarman king of Magadha who was just dead	The people were honest, esteemed learning and reverenced Buddhism. The adherents of various sects were numerous. Gayā was to the south and had few inhabitants.

	1	2	3
	The country produced fragrant rice called "rice for grandees"	patronised Jayasena renowned Buddhist scholar of Kṣatriya caste	But there were 1000 Brahman families descendants of the original Ṛṣi Gayā and these were not subject to the king and were treated by all with reverence.
	Nālandā monasteries (modern village Burgaon) to the east of Rājagṛha		Ancient Buddhist University. Bālāditya and others built them and endowed them with 100 villages.
35.	Hiraṇyaparvata (Monghyr) going east. Capital close to the Ganges on its north side	No king, a neighbouring king having recently deposed the ruler	10 monasteries and 20 Deva-temples. Near the Ganges and besides the capital was a mountain on which lived an endless succession of Ṛṣis whose teachings were still preserved in the Deva-temples.
36.	Campā (Bhāgalpur) east Capital situated on the south of the Ganges. Many herds of elephants in the Jungle to the south	Not mentioned	Monasteries in ruin. On the south side of the Ganges in an islet, there was a Deva-temple beautiful and enchanting.
37.	Kajaṅgal (Rājamahal) east-south of the Ganges	No king; subject to another state	6 monasteries, 10 Deva-temples.
38.	Puṇḍra Vardhana (Raṅgpur), east after crossing the Ganges	Not mentioned	20 monasteries, 100 Deva-temples. There were Digambara Nigranthas also.

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39. Kāmarūpa (Assam) east after crossing a large river	A Brahman, descendant of Nārāyaṇa Deva called Bhāskaravarman the other name being Kumāra	The people were small in stature; spoke a different language; did not believe in Buddhism. There were hundreds of Deva-temples. Some Buddhists prayed in secrecy.
40. Samataṭa capital Jessore	Not mentioned	30 Buddhist monasteries and 100 Deva-temples. Digambara Nirgranthas were very numerous.
41. Tāmralipti (Midnāpore) west; capital on an inlet of the sea, land and water communication met, being on a bay	Not mentioned	10 Buddhist monasteries, 50 Deva-temples.
42. Karṇasuvarṇa (Murshidābād) north-west	Śaśāṅka	People fond of learning; 10 monasteries, 50 temples. Numerous followers of various religions.
43. Uḍra or Oḍra (Orissa) going s.-w. on the east the ocean. In the s.-w. a sea-port for going to Ceylon	Not mentioned	People reverenced the law. In speech and manners different from Mid-India. Fruit larger than elsewhere. 100 monasteries, 50 temples Myriads of Buddhism.
44. Konguto going south-west over hills and the sea	Not mentioned	People tall, black and valorous, written language the same, ways of speaking different. They were not Buddhists, 100 temples, of Tīrthikas there were 10,000.
45. Kaliṅga south-west	Not mentioned	People headstrong but fair and clear of speech;

1	*2*	*3*
		they differed somewhat from Mid-India in talk and manners. Few Buddhists. Majority of other religions. 100 Deva-temples, majority being Nirgranthas.
46. Kośala, land of Nāgārjuna, north-west, country surrounded by mountains	Kṣatriya Buddhist	People tall and black of both religions, about 100 monasteries.
47. Andhra, south from Kośala	Not mentioned	People violent. Their speech differs from Mid-India; 100 monasteries. Followers of different religions.
48. Dhankākaṭaka (Amarāvatī on the Kṛṣṇa) south	Not mentioned	People black, monasteries deserted; 100 temples, followers of various sect numerous.
49. Coḷa south-west	. . .	People of a fierce and profligate character. They were the followers of Tīrthikas. The monasteries were in ruins. Several tens of Deva-temples and the Digambaras were numerous.
50. Ḍraviḍa, south a port led to Siṃhala	Not mentioned	The people courageous and honest, esteemed great learning, they differed little from Mid-India in written and spoken language. 100 monasteries and more than 80 Deva-temples. Majority Digambara.
51. Malayakūṭa, south from	Not mentioned	People indifferent to religion; black, only good at

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	Kāñcī, depot of pearls; seaport to Ceylon		pride, monasteries few, hundreds of Deva-temples Digambaras, very numerous. On the south on the sea was the Malay mountain which produced sandal. Camphor and other trees. On the east was Potalaka mountain with Pataldha on the top.
52.	Konkan, going north from Ḍraviḍa	Not mentioned	100 monasteries. Close to the city was a forest of Tala trees, its leaves were used for writing.
53.	Mahārāṣṭra, north-west capital to the east of a great river	Pulakeśin	People warlike and fond of learning; both orthodox and heterodox; to the east of this country was a mountain in which caves were dug out.
54.	Bharukaccha going west and crossing the Narmadā	Not mentioned	People deceitful and ignorant; believed in both orthodoxy and heterodoxy. They support themselves on the sea and salt manufacture.
55.	Mālavā going north-west capital on the Mahi	60 years before a great king called Śīlāditya who had built by his palace a Buddhist temple, ruled	People learned. Mālwā in the south-west and Magadha in north-west were the two countries where learning was prized. There were miscellaneous belief in orthodoxy and heterodoxy.
56.	Atali (unidentified) going north-west	King not mentioned	People traders and rich. The soil was sandy. There were little flowers or fruit. In speech etc. the people were like those of Mālwā, but they did not esteem

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			religious merit and worshipped Devas (Hiuen Tsang probably did not visit this country).
57.	Kita (Cutch) going north-west from Mālavā	Subject to Mālavā	People like those of Mālavā. There were however numerous worshippers of Deva-temples.
58.	Valabhī going forth	Kṣatriya by caste a nephew of the former king of Mālavā-Śīlāditya and a son-in-law of the reigning king of Kanauj-Śīlāditya. He was hasty of temper and young but a devout Buddhist. His name was Dhruvabhaṭa	The country was like Mālavā, the people rich and prosperous. There were hundreds of Deva-temples above 100 Buddhistic monasteries.
59.	Ānandapura, north-west of Valabhī	Not mentioned	Fertile and like Mālwā in products, climate, written language and institutions. More than 10 monasteries.
60.	Surāṣṭra, going west, Mahi on its west side	Subject to Mālavā	People rich and flourishing. They were rude and believed in both religions. 10 monasteries and about 100 Deva-temples. Near the capital was the Usanta hill (undoubtedly Girnār near Junāgadh) on which congregated supernatural Ṛṣi. Soil blackish. Disturbed by storms. The country on the high way to sea.

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		The people utilized the sea and were traders by profession.
61. Gurjara north from Valabhī capital Bhinamal	Kṣatriya a young man celebrated for wisdom and valour and profound believer in Buddhism	It had a flourishing population mostly non-Buddhist. 1 monastery 10 Deva-temples. The country was like Surāṣṭra.
62. Ujjayinī south-west from Gurjara properly identified with Ujjain. Because Aśoka had made here a jail	Brahman, well-versed in heterodox doctrine	People rich and prosperous; very few Buddhists. Monasteries mostly in ruins. Some 10 Deva-temples.
63. Cicito, north-east	Brahman, a firm believer in Buddhism	Majority of people not Buddhist. Wheat and pulse were its products.
64. Thāneśvara-pura going north. Returns from Maheśvarapura to Gosjala (Gurjara) crosses a wild country and going north and crossing the Śintu river comes to Sind.	Brahman, not a believer in Buddhism	People not Buddhist. Majority belonged to the Pāśupatas.
65. Capital Piśarpilo	Of Śūdra caste and believer in Buddha	People quarrelsome. Thorough believer in Buddhism; several hundreds of monasteries and 10,000 brethren. About 30 Deva-temples. Wheat, dromad-

1	2	3
		aries and mules were the chief products. In the marshes of Śintu lived myriads of families of ferocious disposition, who made taking of life their occupation though they shaved off hair and wore Bhikṣu garbs.
66. Mūlasthāna-pura, going east and crossing the Indus	Subject to Tekka	The people were upright, led moral life, but few were Buddhists. There was a temple to the sun, the image of burning gold ornamented with precious stones. There was a constant succession of female singers in this temple.
67. Profate north-east upland	Subject to Tekka	About 10 Buddhist monasteries.
68. Pochilo, south-west from Sind. Capital in the west on sea Uḍumbaro	Subject to Sind	About 80 monasteries. In the capital was a large Maheśvara temple the image in which had supernatural powers capital Khajiśvara or Kaccheśvara.
69. Laṅghāla (Makrān) going west	Subject to Persia	Writing like that of India and speech different. Orthodoxy and heterodoxy both were believed in. Above 100 monasteries and hundreds of Deva-temples and very few Pāśupatas.
70. Phiitosīhlo (Pitasila)	Subject to Sind	In the capital was a temple of Maheśvara.
71. Afantu (Avanda) North-east	Subject to Sind	People violent but true Buddhists. Language different from that of India.

	1	2	3
			20 monasteries, 15 Deva-temples.
72.	Falana (Varanar or Bannu) north-east	Subject to Kapīśa	People bold, fierce and believed in both orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Tens of Buddhist monasteries and 5 Deva-temples mostly Pāśupatas.[1]

REFERENCE

[1]*HMHI*, I, 48-57.

Chapter 12

Gradual Decline of Buddhism in Different Regions of India

SOUTHERN INDIA (DAKṢIṆĀPATHA)

Esoteric cult played an important role in the religious history of South India. Śrī-Parvata in South was the centre of this cult.[1] At an early date Śrī-Parvata, Dhānyakaṭaka and Potalaka in South India were regarded as an important centres of the Mahāyāna and Mantrayāna.[2] The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* speaks of Śrī-Parvata and Śrī-Dhānyakaṭaka as important places for the practice of *mantra-siddhi*.[3] Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana states that Śrī-Parvata became known as Vajra-Parvata because it played an important role as an early centre of the Vajrayāna and Mantrayāna in South India.[4] The *Nikāyasaṃgraha* which was written in Ceylon in the 14th century AD mentions this Vajraparvata.[5] It says that "Vajrayāna is qualified as the Vajra-Parvata school of Buddhism." It describes further that the Buddhists, who belonged to the Vajra-Parvatavāsīnikāya, wrote many Vajrayāna works.[6] Siddha Nāgārjuna lived here for a very long time. L.M. Joshi identifies this *Vajraparvatavāsīnikāya* with Vajrayāna. Several scholars identify the followers of the *Vajraparvatavāsīnikāya* with the followers of the Vajrayāna. The *Harṣacarita*,[7] the *Kādambarī*[8] and the *Mālatīmādhava*[9] say that Śrī-Parvata at an early date was a centre of Mantras and Tantras. Kalhaṇa informs us that a famous Siddha, who belonged to Śrī-Parvata, came to Kashmir to show his marvellous activities to the Kashmirians.[10] The drama *Mālatīmādhava* refers to the visit of Saudāmīnī, the Buddhist nun, to Śrī-Parvata which was a centre of the practice of Kāpālika rites.[11] In Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* there is a reference to Śrī-Parvata which became famous for the practice of magic cults.[12] According to Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana, "the atmosphere of supernaturalism and esoteric rites which prevailed here was highly congenial to the evolution of Vajrayāna in this region about the sixth century AD."[13] Thus in this region esoteric cults, which existed from the early centuries of the Christian era, helped to rise and develop

the Vajrayāna ideas from about the sixth century AD. From later tradition it is known that an iron tower in this region was the place where Vairocana[14] explained the Tantra to Nāgārjuna.[15] Bu-ston's account mentions that the self-originated eleven-faced statue of Avalokiteśvara from South India was brought to Tibet by King Srong-Tsan-Gam-Po in the seventh century AD.[16] The *Nikāya-saṃgraha* says that a king named Matvalasena (AD 844-66) was converted to Vajrayāna by a Buddhist monk from Vajraparvata. This shows that Tantric Buddism flourished in this part of South India even upto the ninth century AD.

The eighth and ninth centuries witnessed the Brahminical hostility towards Buddhism in South India. It is said that two well known Southern Brāhmaṇas, Kumārila and Śaṅkara, who became famous for their bigotry, instituted violent crusades against the religion of the Buddha. Buddhism was really in trouble and suffered a great decline owing to the fierce campaigns carried on by them. The History of Kerala records that Kumārila drove out the Buddhists from Kerala. According to later tradition, towards the middle of the eighth century he oppressed the Buddhists of Mālābār and requested the king to persecute them.[17] But R.C. Mitra does not believe it. He says, "The great Śaṃkara who is generally believed to have dealt the death-blow to Buddhism in India as a whole, was a Nambudri Brahman from Malabar and flourished in the 9th century AD."[18] From a tradition we know that Perumal, the last ruler, was converted to Buddhism in the ninth century AD.

Tamil literature which belonged to the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries AD give us an idea of the role played by the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas against the Buddhists and their doctrines and practices. Appar, who belonged to the early seventh century AD, in his hymn of *Tirutturutti* (IV, 42; V, 49) refers to the Kuṇḍas, the Jainas and the Bauddhas as the ignorant people, because "these take cognition of only what they see (referring to their acceptance of Pratyakṣa and Anumāna only as proof)".[19] In *Tirumangai Kāreṇam* (VI, 22, verse 10) he tells his people against "the Falsehood of the Buddhists" who wear yellow robe or *cīvara* or monastic robe or dress.[20] Jñāna Sambandar, who belonged to the seventh century AD, refers to "the Buddhists, their dress, their denial of the authority of the Vedas, etc."[21] The Vaiṣṇava Āḷvār Tirumilisai, who belonged to the late sixth or early seventh century AD, in Nanmugam 6 mentions the Buddhists as "the spiritless Bauddhas" and later on he tells them as "the followers of the devil faith."[22] Toṇḍardipoḍi, who ascribed to the eighth century AD, in his *Tirumalai,* says against *śramaṇas* and the Śākyas and describes further that "he had the power to fulfil what he considers as a righteous duty of chopping off the heads of the Buddhists."[23] The Māghanandi-Śrāvakācāra, which belonged to the second half of the thirteenth century AD, refers to the Buddhists as meat-eaters who say that "what is dropped in a plate is holy and sanctioned by the Sūtras."[24] In the Belgami Record of AD 1035 Lākulīśvara Paṇḍita, the holy Śaiva, is mentioned as the submarine fire in the ocean of the Buddhas.[25] The inscription Cannarayapatana no.149 in AD 1125 refers to Puṣpasiddhānta, an ancient *guru*, who helped to damage the reputation of Sugata (the Buddha).[26] The inscription (Belur 17) of AD 1136 describes that Vadirājendra played a prominent role to damage the reputation of the Buddha.[27] From the Śravaṇa Beḷgola epitaph of AD 1050s-1128-29, it is known that Vimalacandra, the Jaina *guru*, once challenged the Bauddhas alongwith Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Kāpālikas and others by sending a letter to King Śatrubhayaṃkara.[28] An inscription of AD 1183 also refers to it.[29]

Tārānātha,[30] the Tibetan historian, throws light on the condition of Buddhism in the South after the Muhammedan conquest. From his account we do not get a very depressing condition of Buddhism in the South. He says that several Buddhist scholars from the North came to the South when the Muhammedans proceeded towards northern India. He describes further that Jñānakaragupta, the famous Buddhist teacher, with 100 other Buddhist scholars fled from the North and arrived in the South India after the fall of Magadha. Buddhamitra, Vajraśrī, the disciple of Daśabala, also went there. Tārānātha mentions that "magic came more and more into prominence with the Buddhists in the South."[31] The *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* which was written by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in AD 1582 describes that Śrī Caitanya during his visit to South India in AD 1510 had discussions and arguments with several Buddhists and he defeated them with their *guru* at Venkatagiri near Arcot.[32] The *Kaḍca* of Govindadās gives an account of Buddhist scholars, and the prevalence of Buddhism and its schools in South India during his time.[33] It is known that Gaṇapati Śāstrī discovered the manuscript of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and about 400 years back it was copied in South India by Ravicandra, the head of the Mūla-Ghoṣa vihāra.[34]

From the above accounts we conclude that Buddhism continued to maintain its existence in South India when it declined in other parts of India. R.C. Mitra states, "the continuance of Hindu rule in the Deccan and the comparative immunity enjoyed by the South from Moslem invasions may partially explain the longer life of Buddhism in certain regions in the South."[35] Slowly and gradually, Buddhism declined and gave its way to Jainism and Śaivism. These two religions in course of time became very prominent and played

important roles in the religious history of South India. It is known from Hiuen-tsang's account that Jainism and Śaivism prospered very steadily in several places of the South. R.C. Mitra observes: "The vaunting phrases in which the Jaina or the Śaiva religious heads successively announce their triumph over the Buddhists and other rival sectaries indicate that the intellectual defence of Buddhism had given way, and the Buddhists failed to score any victory in retaliation."[36] It should be noted here that Buddhism which existed during this period was not a pure form of Buddhism. It was mixed with Tāntrism. It is known that the Tibetan historian, Tārānātha became a disciple of the Tantric Buddhist, Buddhagupta, who belonged to Rameswaram in South India.[37] The latter was a follower of the Nateśvarī Yogī sect. He in Malabar learnt the *Buddhasañcāratantra* and the *Sambara-vikrīdita Haridarisamgīti*, and the *Sahajatattva* from a king whose name was Hariprabha "who had forded the ocean of Vajrayāna and possessed all the learning of the Siddhas."[38] R.C. Mitra mentions that "Buddhism at this period was interlarded with Śaiva ideas, and with practices of Haṭhayoga in the South and was thus in a state of imperceptible dissolution amidst forms of Tantric Hinduism."[39] Thus these accounts indicate that though Buddhism existed in South India but Tantrism and Haṭhayoga practices made a great influence upon it.

REFERENCES

[1]*DBI*, 104. [2]*SBCI*, 257. [3]*MSMK*, 88.
[4]*SBCI*, 257. [5]Ibid.; *NSG*, 8-9. [6]*SUCI*, 257; *NSG*, 8-9.
[7]*HC*, I, 9. [8]*KDB*, 224-28. [9]*MMD*, I, VIII, X.
[10]*RTG*, III, 267; IV, 390. [11]*DBI*, 104. [12]Ibid.
[13]Ibid.; *JAT*, 1984, 212.

[14]Vairocana is known as one of the five Buddhas of Meditation. "In the *Guhyasamājatantra* evolution of the five Buddhas of meditation is described. Here it is shown that these gods originate out of Sarvatathāgatasvāmin, who is also known as Vajrasattva from other sources. The Lord sat in different *samādhis*, recited different *mantras* whence-from originated these Buddhas, their female partners, and the guardians of the four quarters. The five Buddhas thus manifested were Akṣobhya (the unshakable), Vairocana (the Brilliant One), Ratnaketu or Ratnasambhava (the matrix of the Jewel or the Jewel Born), Amitābha (the Infinite Light), and Amoghavajra or Amoghasiddhi (the Infalliable Success). (*GST*, 3-9). As G. Tucci points out, according to Vajrayāna, the original consciousness symbolised by Vajrasattva or Akṣobhya, is radiated into these five Buddhas. (G. Tucci, *Theory and Practice of the Mandala*, p. 50). They are, therefore, not different from the original Essence represented by Vajrasattva." (*SBCI*, 62-63).

[15]*DBI*, 104. [16]Ibid.; *DHB*, II, 184. [17]*DBI*, 105; *SDHSI*, 66, fn 7.
[18]*DBI*, 105. [19]Ibid., 105-6. [20]Ibid., 106.

[21]Ibid. [22]Ibid. [23]Ibid., 85, 106, 673.
[24]Ibid., 106. [25]Ibid., 111; *MI*, 152. [26]*DBI*, 112; *EC*, V, 191.
[27]*DBI*, 112; *EC*, V, 51. [28]*DBI*, 112; *EC*, II, 184.
[29]*DBI*, 112; *EC*, III, 89 and introduction, 17. [30]*DBI*, 122; *TGBI*, 252.
[31]*DBI*, 123. [32]Ibid.; *CC*, 85; *HAB*, II, 113.
[33]*DBI*, 123. [34]Ibid.; *IHQ*, 746. [35]*DBI*, 124.
[36]Ibid. [37]Ibid., 122; *IHQ*, 1931, 684. [38]*DBI*, 122.
[39]Ibid.

NORTHERN INDIA (UTTARĀPATHA)

Hiuen-tsang in his record mentions 'frontier lands' or 'mleccha lands' which were to the north of Lan-po or Lampa.[1] General Cunningham identifies this region with Lamghan or Laughman in the Kabul valley.[2] Here he saw about ten Buddhist monasteries where some Mahāyāna monks used to live. From his account it is known that many non-Buddhists had their Deva-temples there.[3]

Nagarahāra (Na-ka-lo-ho), which roughly corresponds to the Jalālābād district, was a centre of Buddhism.[4] It had several Buddhist monasteries but there were not many monks. Several scholars identify Nagarahāra with the old republic of Nyas which has been mentioned by Arrian.[5] Hidda (Hi-lo) which was an important city became famous for the Buddha's relics.[6] Fa-hien in the fifth century AD mentions a monastery with 700 monks near the 'Shadow Cave' which was not very far from this city.[7] But there is no reference to it in Hiuen-tsang's account. This shows the decline of Buddhism in this part of India during this period.

Puṡkalāvatī which became known as Peshawar had 100 Deva-temples and many non-Buddhist sects flourished there at that time. Among them the Śaiva-Pāśupata sect occupied a prominent place in its religious world.[8] Because it had many followers there. There existed still the Kanika-caitya, the famous monastery, which was then built by Kaniṣka. A few Hīnayāna monks used to live here.[9] The Ghosrawa inscription[10] of the 9th century AD refers to a Buddhist monk named Vīradeva, who belonged to Nagarahāra or Jalālābād. He in order to study *Sarvajña-śānti*, came to the Kanika-caitya (Kaniṣka vihāra). King Devapāla of Bengal also patronised him. In connection with Sultan Mahmud's 14th expedition in India in AD 1022 Nazimuddin in *Tabakat-i-Akbarī* made a statement.[11] He says that "Kuriat has mountain passes and that its inhabitants worship lions." Elliot and Dowson remind us this statement. Elliot thinks that this undoubtedly refers to the worship of Śākyasiṃha or the Buddha. Elliot and Dowson[12] state that Nur and Kuriat located "between Jalālābād and Peshawar in the region drained by the Kuner and the Landye rivers."

Several Buddhist remains were discovered here and this may suggest "the worship of the lion" by its inhabitants in the past.

The greater part of the Punjab between the Beas (the Bias) and the Indus rivers was known as the kingdom of Cheh-ka or Tasch-kia or Takka.[13] It was very close to Sākala. This kingdom was an important centre of Śaivism.[14] There were hundreds of Deva-temples. But this place had ten Buddhist monasteries. Jallandhar was an important centre of Buddhism in the Punjab. Frankly speaking, "Buddhism was a mere flourishing condition in Jallandhar than in other parts of the Punjab."[15] It was an important centre of the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna. It had 50 Buddhist monasteries where lived 2,000 Buddhist monks. The Śatadru district on the Sutlej river had many Buddhist monasteries. But they were in ruinous state. A few Buddhist monks lived there.[16] Many people of this region led a pure life, followed the principles of Buddhism properly but strictly "observed social distinctions." This indicates that Brahminical caste system even influenced the social life of the Buddhist laity.[17] Bairat was another name of the province of Pāryātra or Pāriyātra.[18] Here a copy of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict was found. The inhabitants were followers of Brahminism. There were eight desolate monasteries which were occupied by a few Hīnayāna monks.[19]

It is generally believed that Buddhism not only maintained its existence but also lived with other religions with dignity in Kashmir up to the 12th century AD. Then Islam began to spread in Kashmir. It is to be noted here that Buddhism suffered most from Muslim invasions. Many Buddhist monks and scholars were afraid of Muslim invaders and they fled away from their motherlands and plains and went to Kashmir to take shelter there. But their arrival in this land did not help Buddhism much on its way to prosperity in Kashmir. Gradually but slowly it began to decline under the rule of Muslim rulers. Abul Fazal at the end of the 16th century came to this place with the Emperor Akbar.[20] Even, at that time, he met same old people who were followers of Buddhism. But he could not say anything about the exact time of the disappearance of Buddhism from Kashmir. But he guessed that it disappeared long ago. Under the patronage of Muslim rulers many people of Kashmir accepted Islam as their faith. From the census of 1941, it is known that there were 40,696 Buddhists in Ladakh and other parts of the state of Kashmir.[21]

Tantrism began to play an important part in the religious history of India. It made a great influence upon the life of the people of Kashmir. R.C. Mitra says, "But as Buddhism began to imbibe strong Tantric influence it is but natural that its fell a victim to allied evils as of Śaiva Tantrism. But Śaivism has not only survived in spite of its lapses, but it has presumably absorbed a large number of the Buddhists. This only brings into clearer relief the fact that Buddhism here died of internal exhaustion and tended to be absorbed in more virile local cults."[22] R.C. Mitra mentions further, "The subjection of Buddhism to Śaiva influences became more potent in later times, when, with the emergence of the cult of Avalokiteśvara and Tārā, the Buddhists were impelled to borrow not only the legends and metaphysical concepts associated with the cult of Śiva and Durgā, but many of the abnoxious Tantric practices which sapped its inner vitality without strengthening its outworks."[23]

References

[1]Hwui Li, 57; *SBCI*, 12. [2]Hwui Li, 12; *AGI*, 43.
[3]Hwui Li, 12; Watters, I, 190-92. [4]Hwui Li, 12.
[5]Ibid.; *EHI*, 57; *KHAI*, 246.
[6]Hwui Li, 12; Watters, I, 182 ff. [7]Hwui Li, 12; Giles, 18.
[8]Hwui Li, 12. [9]Ibid. [10]*DBI*, 36; *IA*, 1888, 309.
[11]Hwui Li, 36-37. [12]Hwui Li, 36; *HIH*, II, 465.
[13]*SBCI*, 19-20; *RTG*, V, 150; *EHI*, 368. [14]*SBCI*, 20; Watters, I, 286.
[15]*SBCI*, 21. [16]Ibid., Watters, I, 299. [17]*SBCI*, 21; Watters, I, 299.
[18]*SBCI*, 21. [19]Ibid.; Watters, I, 300. [20]*DBI*, 26; *AA*, III, 212.
[21]*DBI*, 26; *MBJ*, 1948, May-June, 181. [22]*DBI*, 27.
[23]Ibid., 28.

Western India

Buddhism played an important role in certain places of Western India during the seventh and eighth centuries AD. It is known that both Hinduism and Buddhism flourished side by side in Bharukaccha (Broach).

The Sammitīya school played a significant role in the religious world of Mālwā (Mālavā) during the seventh and eighth centuries AD. This place was an important centre of this school. It had many Deva-temples and the Śaiva-Pāśupata sect became very popular here in the seventh and eighth centuries AD.[1] It had many followers here.

A Buddhist inscription of Devadatta of Vikrama era 847-AD 789 discovered in Shergarh of Koṭa state of Rājasthan[2] suggests the existence of Buddhism even in the 8th century in this region of Rajasthan. Buddhagupta, the Tantric *guru* of Tārānātha, in the 16th century AD, mentions the temple of Hevajra,[3] established by Padmavajra in Marudeśa or Rājputānā. Tārānātha refers to the existence of Buddhism in Gujarat and Rājputānā after the Muhammedan con-

quest. But he says that magic made a great influence upon Buddhism in later times.

Multān and a country known as Po-fa-to probably Jammu which was situated to the north-east of Multān, were regarded as dependencies of the kingdom called Cheh-ka or Tsch-kia in the north.[4] Mūlasthānapura (modern Multān)[5] on the eastern of the river Sindhu(Indus) was another place in Western India where Buddhism did not exist in a flourishing condition. Buddhist monasteries were in ruinous state and there were not many monks. Here the Sun-god played a prominent role in its religious world. The kingdom of Parvata[6] which was situated to further north-east of Multān had about ten Buddhist monasteries with 1000 Buddhist monks of the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna.

Chau-Ju-Kua (*c.* AD 1225), the Chinese traveller, says that there were 4000 Buddhist temples in Gujarat. He describes further that about 20,000 dancing girls used to sing and dance twice daily before the image of the Buddha. R.C. Mitra states that "he is here evidently meaning the Hindu idols and the Devadāsī of the Temples."[7] Dhyānībhadra, who was also known as Śūnyādiśya, belonged to Magadha. In his autobiographical account he mentions that Buddhism was in a flourishing condition in Ka-ra-na.[8] Dr. Waley identifies it with Nandurbar in Gujarat.[9] It is said that Rāi Karaṇa, the ruler of Gujarat took his shelter here when Sultan Alauddin Khalji in AD 1297 overthrew him. It is known that he lived here and acted as a petty chieftain.

From Tārānātha's account[10] we learn that in the reign of Dharmapāla (*c.* AD 800-32) of the Pāla dynasty, the Saindhava Śrāvakas broke the silver image of Heruka[11] at Bodh Gayā. It describes further that many Hīnayāna monks also took part in it. The *Pag-sam-jon-Zan*[12] mentions these people as Sendhapa, a Hindu sect. If we accept the Saindhava Śrāvakas or the Buddhist monks of Sind of the Sammitīya school, we conclude then the prevalence of Buddhism in Sind in the middle of the ninth century AD.

From the inscriptions of the Pāla rulers we get an account of the Buddhist monks who belonged to Sind. The inscriptions were found on the pedestal of two Buddha images in Bihar. They refer to the installation of the images in the 3rd regnal year of Sūra Pāla by a Buddhist monk named Pūrṇadāsa, who came from Sind.[13] This Sūrapāla of the Pāla dynasty probably ruled from AD 850 to 854. He was Sūrapāla I. A stone image inscription of the reign of Gopāla II (*c.* AD 940-60) was discovered at Bodh Gayā.[14] It describes the establishment of an image of *muni* (the Buddha) by Dharma-Bhīma who, most probably, belonged to Sind. H.P. Śāstrī thinks that the qualify-

ing epithet "Sindhud-bhava" of Dharma-Bhīma suggests his racial origin.[15] If these monks really came to Bodh Gayā from Sind in the reign of the Pāla rulers, then it suggests that Buddhism still managed to survive in Sind in the ninth and tenth centuries AD. Under the patronage of the Pāla rulers Buddhist monks from Sind came to the Pāla kingdom to settle there with a hope to get more opportunity to develop their religious ideas.

Chau-Ju-Kua[16] (AD 1225), the Chinese traveller in his account describes that "Whenever the inhabitants of Nan-ni-hua-to take a bath, they annoint their bodies with turmeric as they like to have their bodies gilt like that of Buddha." Rockhill and Hirth locate this place in Sind.[17] This custom probably indicates Buddhist influence in Sind in the first half of the thirteenth century AD.

It is difficult to say about the exact date of the disappearance of Buddhism in Sind. R.C. Mitra says, "When and how Buddhism disappeared from Sind is a mystery which cannot yet be resolved. The Sammitīyas who prevailed in this part of India may, in a period of exhaustion, have lent themselves to easier assimilation with the Hindus. With their emphasis on reality and on the importance of personality, the Sammitīyas came very near the Hindu doctrine of metempsychosis, and the gulf was bridged over in a later period.

The contact of Islam with Buddhism in Sind was not entirely unproductive for Islam. Traces of Buddhist thought have been perceived in the mystical doctrine of the Sufis. The doctrine of Fanā may be an Islamised version of the concept of Nirvāṇa and the system of intermediate stages, *maqāmāt* leading unto it suggests borrowings from Buddhsm. The legend of Ibrahim ibn Ādham the prince of Balkh, who renounced the royal state to become a Sufi monk, was probably an echo of the story of Buddha's great renunciation."[18]

REFERENCES

[1]*SBCI*, 40. [2]Ibid., 42-43; *PLMM*, 7.

[3]*DBI*, 48. L.M. Joshi says, "The Havajratantra, a joint creation of two teachers, Saraha and Kambala, is a Tantra of the class of Guhyasamāja. Its philosophical basis is derived from the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra schools. The theory of 'two-in-one', the 'innate *(sahaja)* and *bodhicitta*, and a symbolical analysis of the psycho-physical mechanism of human personality, find classic treatment from the Vajrayāna standpoint. The chief deity or Supreme Reality is termed Hevajra." (*SBCI*, 265).

[4]*EHI*, 368. [5]*SBCI*, 44. [6]Ibid.

[7]*DBI*, 48; *FNSI*, 144-46. [8]*DBI*, 47. [9]Ibid.

[10]Ibid., 34; *TGBI*, 221.

[11]"Although the Mahāyāna Buddhists had long been worshipping Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, some demi-gods and a number of deified sages and *arhats*, yet the evolution

of a Buddhist pantheon, properly so called, is attributable to the Tāntrika Buddhists of our period. The first crystallization of a systematic pantheon in Buddhism seems to be reflected in the order of the holy pentad—the five Meditative Buddhas or Celestial Jinas. They are the spiritual sons of the Ādi-Buddha, called Vajrasattva in some texts, Heruka or Hevajra in others and known as Śvayambhu and Ādi-Buddha in Nepal and Tibet. Most scholars believe that this was a theistic or rather monotheistic development in Buddhism. At one place in the *Hevajratantra*, we read that "the *saṃsāra* is Heruka's phenomenal aspect, and he is the Lord, the saviour of the world."—*SBCI*, 292.

[12]*DBI*, 34; *PSJZ*, CXIX.

[13]*DBI*, 34; *IHQ*, September, 1927, 526-27.

[14]*DBI*, 34; *GL*, 88 ff.

[15]*DBI*, 34.

[16]Ibid., 35; *FNSI*, 146 fn.

[17]*DBI*, 35.

[18]Ibid.; *DHNI*, I, 24.

CENTRAL INDIA (MADHYADEŚA)

Mathurā on the Yamunā was regarded as the famous city in Central India (Madhyadeśa). The people of Mathurā had great faith in the Law of Karma and they "respected moral and intellectual eminence."[1] The Mathurā district had about twenty monasteries which were occupied by three thousand Buddhist monks of the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna.[2] V.A. Smith says, "Buddhism was growing in favour in this part of the country."[3] Mathurā which "had many Buddhist relics of the past"[4] occupied a prominent place as an important Buddhist centre.

The country of Brahmapura (Po-lo-lih-mo-pulo) which, according to Alexander Cunningham, was 'in the districts of Garhwal and Kumaon'.[5] B.C. Law says that it was the ancient capital of the Chambā state in the Punjab.[6] Several scholars think that Vairatapaṭṭana's another name was Brahmapura.[7] This place had five Buddhist monasteries which were occupied by a few Buddhist monks. There were also ten Deva-temples. In the north of Brahmapura there was a country which was Suvarṇa-*gotra* by name.[8] It "touched Tibet (Tufan) on the east and Khotan on the north." From any record we do not know anything about Buddhism in this country.

Julien, S. Beal and T. Watters refer to a territory which was known as Vīrasana, Vīlasana or Bhilasana.[9] But scholars find a great difficulty in identifying it with any place of Central India. But Alexander Cunningham has identified its capital with the mound of Atranjikhera on the river Kali which lies to the north of Etaḥ on the Grand Trunk Road.[10] About 300 Mahāyāna monks lived in two Buddhist monasteries here.[11] Most of its people were non-Buddhists.

Kanauj was known in early days as Kānyakubja or also called Kanyākubja, 'city of the humped backed women'.[12] It was situated on the west bank of the Ganges in the Farukhabad district of the Uttar Pradesh.[13] This place had hundred Buddhist monasteries which were occupied by 10,000 monks of the Mahāyāna school.[14] Hinduism also flourished there. There were about two hundred Hindu temples which were worshipped by several thousand worshippers.[15] Buddhism flourished in Kanauj for several centuries. But in the first half of the eighth cetury AD Buddhism suffered very much and fell in its evil days. R.C. Mitra describes, "Buddhism which flourished from the days of Hiuen-tsang to AD 729, was at last extinct in Kānyakubja or 'the city of hunch-backed girls.' The town is full of stūpas and temples, but there are neither monks nor nuns."[16] Near Kanauj, there was a city known as Navadevakula.[17] On its eastern side there were three monasteries which were enclosed by one wall each had its own gate. About five hundred Buddhist monks of the Sarvāstivāda sect stayed there.[18]

From the Pāli canon it is known that the Buddha visited Ayodhyā twice and preached the *Phonasutta* and the *Darukkhandhasutta*.[19] These two *Suttas* refer to Ayodhyā on the Ganges.[20] It had one hundred Buddhist monasteries which were occupied by 3,000 Buddhist monks of the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna.[21] The city had several old Buddhist stūpas and monasteries but they were now in ruins.[22]

Fa-hien[23] came to Kuśinagara in the fifth century AD. Although he found "the utter ruin and desolation of the city and the district", yet the monasteries still maintained their existences there in his time. He also saw several stūpas with the Buddha's life events.[24] Hiuen-tsang describes that "the city walls were in ruins and the towns and villages deserted ... there were very few inhabitants. The interior of the city being a wildwaste."[25]

Near Vārāṇasī there was a place called Isipatana. In Sanskrit it was called Ṛṣipaṭṭana which means "the abode of Ṛṣis."[26] Iṣipatana flourished in the 12th century under the patronage of the Gāhaḍavāla rulers. Kumāradevī, the devout Buddhist queen of king Govinda Candra, erected the Dharmacakrajina vihāra, a large monastery and also restored many old buildings.[27] Muhammad Ghori defeated king Jayacandra in AD 1194 and he not only killed many Buddhist monks but also destroyed this Buddhist centre completely.[28]

Chan-chu which has been identified by Alexander Cunningham with Gāzīpur district in U.P. was another place in Central India where Hiuen-tsang came in the seventh century AD.[29] The Chinese pilgrim[30] says that this place had ten Buddhist vihāras which were occupied by one thousand monks of the Hīnayāna. He also refers to the Aviddakarṇa Saṃghārāma, i.e., "the monastery of the *bhikṣus* with unpierced ears."[31] The king of Gāzīpur built this monastery for the monks of the Tukhāra country in Central Asia. It is known that two

monks with unpierced ears (*aviddha-karṇa*) from the region of Tukhāra came to India but the Buddhist monks of India did not behave properly with them. Even, they did not give them shelter. When the king of Gāzīpur came to know, he built this monastery for the Tukhāra monks.[32] Hiuen-tsang also refers to many other monasteries in the Gāzīpur region. But they were not in good conditions and the Buddhist monks who lived there were very few in number.[33]

References

[1] *SBCI*, 21; Giles, 20.
[2] *SBCI*, 20; *EHI*, 313.
[3] *SBCI*, 22.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., 23; Watters, I, 329; *HGAI*, 72.
[6] *HGAI*, 72.
[7] Ibid.
[8] *SBCI*, 23.
[9] Ibid., 24.
[10] Ibid.; *AGI*, 365.
[11] *SBCI*, 24; Watters, I, 332.
[12] *SBCI*, 24; Giles, 29; Beal, 235; *PHAI*, 136.
[13] *SBCI*, 24; *EHI*, 390; *PHAI*, 136.
[14] *SBCI*, 24; *EHI*, 390; Watters, I, 340.
[15] *EHI*, 390.
[16] *DBI*, 18.
[17] *SBCI*, 25.
[18] Ibid., 25; Watters, I, 352.
[19] *BCAI*, 81.
[20] Ibid.
[21] *SBCI*, 26; Watters, I, 355; Hwui Li, 85.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Giles, XXIV.
[24] Ibid.; *BCAI*, 53.
[25] Watters, II, 15-45; *HGAI*, 102-3; *BCAI*, 53.
[26] *BCAI*, 66.
[27] Ibid., 69.
[28] Ibid.
[29] *SBCI*, 30; *AGI*, 438.
[30] *SBCI*, 30; Watters, II, 59-60.
[31] *SBCI*, 30.
[32] Ibid.; Watters, II, 59-60.
[33] Ibid.

Eastern India

Magadha was an important centre of Buddhism. L.M. Joshi says that "in this territory the religion continued to flourish till the last when it was wiped away by the arms of Islam."[1] The city of Vaiśālī was in the province of Magadha. During the time of the Buddha Vaiśālī (Vesālī) was quite well-known as the capital of the Vajjian confederacy.[2] Hiuen-tsang visited the Vajjian country.[3] He did not find many Buddhists there. This country had ten monasteries which were occupied by one thousand monk-students who belonged to the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna.[4] Here also lived many non-Buddhist people.[5] Hiuen-tsang refers to the popularity of the Digambara Jainas at Vesālī.[6] But we do not know anything about the condition of Buddhism at Vesālī after Hiuen-tsang's visit. No source relating to Buddhism is available to us. Most probably, Buddhism did not prosper after the seventh century AD. Ou-K'ong, who came after

Hiuen-tsang, found nothing at Vesālī but only the ruins of the monastery of Wei-Mo (Vimalakīrtti).[7]

Hiuen-tsang in his account mentioned that in many places Buddhism declined in India. He "noted with despair everywhere that the followers of Brahminical faith far outnumbered the Buddhists. The condition of Buddhism in Bengal on the eve of the election of King Gopāla (first half of the 8th century) as described in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, is far from encouraging. According to this Buddhist work, Bengal up to this time, was full of the Tīrthikas or followers of the Brahminical faith. The Buddhist monasteries were falling in ruins and people were removing the bricks and wood for their own buildings."[8]

From the 8th century AD to 12th century AD the Pālas ruled over Eastern India. They played prominent roles for the development of Buddhism in Eastern India. They always referred to themselves as Parama-Saugata and offered prayer to the Buddha at the beginning of their official records which indicates "a new ideology of Buddha and Bodhisattvas in the most developed Mahāyāna form."[9] Thus "during this period that Mahāyāna Buddhism, under the patronage of the Pālas, became a powerful international force and exercised dominant influence in the area extending from Tibet in the north to the islands of the Malay Archipelago in the south."[10] During the Pāla period the Vajrayāna, the Kālacakrayāna and the Sahajayāna—the three systems of Tantric Buddhism flourished.[11] P.C. Bagchi says, "Buddhism under the Pālas appears to have been completely different from the Buddhism which even Hiuen-tsang describes in the middle of the 7th century AD. The ancient schools, like Sarvāstivāda, Sammitīya etc. are no longer spoken of in Eastern India, and the trace of pure Mahāyāna that we discover in the invocations used by kings in their inscriptions does not give a correct picture of Buddhism of the period. The Mahāyāna had developed forms of mysticism which are known as Vajrayāna and Tantrayāna, and these by their very nature dealt with certain deeper metaphysical problems which had greater attraction for the religious man."[12] Not only several Buddhist texts but also from inscriptions and sculptures belonged to the Pālas we learn that an intermixture of Buddhism and Brahminism developed at that time.[13] But R.C. Mitra says, "It should not be overlooked that though Buddhist religion and culture attained new vitality under the fostering care of these rulers and some famous monasteries owed their origin to the piety of the Pāla kings, yet the whole outlook and mental structure of the princes were thoroughly pervaded with the enveloping Brahminical ideas and social conventions. Even in the hey-day of Buddhism under the Pālas,

it does not seem to have been the national religion of their kingdom. Beyond the boundary of the convents and cloisters, Buddhism bore the aspect of a hot-house artificial growth, at least among the laity, whose conversion was always partial and superficial. A spirit of religious eclecticism, conducive to the gradual assimilation of the Buddhists with the Brahminical followers, is abundantly illustrated by the literary and architectural evidence. The inscriptions of the Pālas are redolent of a spirit of deep reverence to Brahminical deities and the very language of the inscriptions betrays a saturation with Hindu imagery and religious concepts. No composer in the service of a Buddhist king would cull his similes almost exclusively from Brahminical legends unless it had been the accepted forms of literary expression of the Buddhists also at this time, and hence it caused them no offence...."[14]

Like the Pālas several rulers, who belonged to same minor dynasties, were devout Buddhists. They also showed their great faith and leanings towards Brahmins and Brahminical culture. The Sena rulers took the throne of Bengal after the Pālas. They were followers of Brahminism. R.C. Mitra states, "In the Sena period, Buddhism must have suffered a natural setback as the kings were strong supporters of orthodox Brahminical principles. Signs are not wanting to suggest that the decline of Buddhism had begun much earlier, even in the days of the Pālas. A religion that leans mainly on royal patronage for its sustenance stands already on slender foundation. The sources of inspiration seem to have dried up in the beginning of the 12th century. Not to speak of any great literary product of this century, one is discouraged by the conspicuous paucity of Buddhist images in this period even though the Pāla rulers continued to hold sway till the second quarter of the 12th century. The rule of the Senas has been characterised by historians as an era of orthodoxy."[15] P.C. Bagchi also observes, "The Sena kings do not seem to have had any special leaning towards Buddhism, and Buddhism does not seem to have had any patronage from them. The Buddhist institutions soon disappeared for want of royal support and those which lingered on did not appear to have long survived the invasion of Muhammad Bakhtyar."[16] Thus due to want of proper patronage Buddhism lost its importance and glory and gradually declined from this region of India during the Sena period. P.C. Bagchi gives some general features of the religious life in Bengal as a whole. He says, "The testimony of Hiuen-tsang, the only direct evidence that we possess, leaves no doubt that the Buddhists and the Jainas were far outnumbered by the followers of Brahminical religion in the 7th century AD. Save for the gradual decline of the Jainas, the state of things

described by Hiuen-tsang seems to have been true also of the subsequent period. The patronage of the Pālas no doubt gave an impetus to Buddhism and saved that religion from the fate which overtook it in the rest of India, but does not seem to have materially affected the dominant position of the Brahminical religion. For it is worthy of note that by far the large majority of images and inscriptions which may be assigned to the period between 750 and 1200 AD are Brahminical and not Buddhist....

In Bengal the Khaḍgas, the Chandras, and the Pālas, and individual rulers like Kāntideva and Ranavaṅkamalla were followers of Buddhism. Vainyagupta, Śaśāṅka, Lokanātha, Dammaṇapāla and the early Sena rulers like Vijayasena and Vallālasena were Śaivas. The Varmans, the later Sena kings and the Deva family were Vaiṣṇavas.[17] When Bengal was invaded by the Muhammedans in AD 1199 in the reign of Lakhmaṇasena, Buddhism then took its shelter in Chittagong in Bengal (now Bangladesh) which still retains its place as an important centre of Buddhism.[18]

From the records of the Muslim historians, we do not get a definite account of the prevalence of Buddhism in Eastern India after the Muhammedan conquest. But from stray evidences found here and there, we conclude that "it was not struck dead."[19] The Mainamati copperplate throws light on the Buddhist Sahaja cult which existed in the reign of Raṇavaṃkamalla at Paṭṭikerā near Tipperah in AD 1220.[20] Vijayarakṣita in the second quarter of the 13th century AD wrote a medical commentary on the *Nidāna* of Mādhava.[21] Ārogyaśāliya which was an epithet of the Buddha was used by this commentator.[22] The commentary begins with an invocation of Gaṇeśa and the original starts with an invocation to Śiva.[23] R.C. Mitra states, "This title of Ārogyaśāliya was, therefore, added in simple recognition of his medical attainments."[24]

Rāmacandra Kavi-Bhāratī, who was a Bengali poet, was a Buddhist.[25] He went to Ceylon in the second half of the thirteenth century AD and stayed there.[26] The king of Ceylon gave him the title of Bauddha-Gama-Cakravartī.[27] In the colophon of a manuscript of the *Pañcarakṣā* of AD 1289 there is a reference to a Parama-Saugata ruler Madhusena.[28] Śrīdhara in his *Nyāya-Kandalī* refers to the Paṇḍu Bhūmi vihāra which was able to maintain its existence even in the 14th century AD.[29] From the accounts of Tāranātha and Sumpa it is known that under the influence of his pious wife, a Bengali king named Caglarāja, who died in AD 1448, accepted Buddhism as his religion and repaired several Buddhist buildings at Gayā.[30] Tāranātha's Tantric *guru* Buddhagupta[31] went to Khasarpaṇa temple in Buntāvara (which was most probably Puṇḍravardhana).[32] He then visited Tip-

perah, "where there was Kasaranga." From there, he arrived in Devikoṭa and resided there for several days in a temple which was built by Kṛṣṇācārya. This indicates that the places of pilgrimages for the followers of Tantric Buddhism managed to survive in Bengal even in the 16th century AD.[33]

R.C. Mitra from the Census Report of 1931 says that Buddhism anyhow survived in Bengal and managed to maintain its existence there. Practically, it never disappeared from this part of India. He describes, "In 1931 the Buddhists were reckoned at a total of 3,30,563 and were confined to the northern districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri and the south-eastern districts of Chittagong and Chittagong Hill tracts. Buddhism in Bengal is lacking in spontaneity and original force and conforming in the north to Lamaistic forms, while in the south-east it bears increasing resemblance to the Burmese model."[34]

References

[1] *SBCI*, 30.
[2] *MN*, II, 101; *BCAI*, 56; *PHAI*, 119-20.
[3] *SBCI*, 31.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.; Watters, II, 63-79; Hwui Li, 100-101.
[7] *DBI*, 18.
[8] Ibid., 52.
[9] *HB*, I, 416; *BCAI*, 202.
[10] *HB*, I, 416-17; *BCAI*, 202-3.
[11] *BCAI*, 203.
[12] *HB*, I, 419.
[13] *BCAI*, 203.
[14] *DBI*, 53-55.
[15] Ibid., 78.
[16] *HB*, I, 418.
[17] Ibid., 425-26.
[18] *BCAI*, 204.
[19] *DBI*, 83.
[20] Ibid.; *IHQ*, 1933, 288.
[21] *DBI*, 83.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.; *CSMASB*, I, 117.
[29] *DBI*, 84; *BSIH*, 58.
[30] *DBI*, 84.
[31] Ibid.; *IHQ*, 1931, 684.
[32] *DBI*, 84.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.; *CSR*, 1931, IV, 404.

Chapter 13

Causes of the Decline of Buddhism in India

It is known from the records of some prominent scholars that Buddhism began to decline in India from the seventh century AD.[1] P.C. Bagchi says that the "decline of Buddhism 'commenced from the 7th century AD and the internal degeneration in the faith became manifest from the 7th century AD'."[2] R.C. Mitra also refers to it. He tries to trace the decline of Buddhism in India from the 7th century AD on the basis of the testimony of the Chinese travellers.[3] In this connection we give here accounts of Fa-hien (AD 399-414), Song-yun (AD 518), Hiuen-tsang (AD 629-45) and I-tsing (AD 671-95) which are no doubt important for a study of Buddhism in different parts of India.

Fa-hien, who visited India in the fifth century AD, saw the flourishing condition of Buddhism in many places of India. But he felt sorry for the condition of Buddhism in Kanauj, Kapilavastu, Rāmagāma, Vaiśālī and Gayā. Kanauj had only two Hīnayāna monasteries.[4] Fa-hien found at Kapilavastu " 'no king nor people' and it was 'like a wilderness except for priests and some tens of families'."[5] There was only one monastery at Rāmagāma,[6] and Vaiśālī had one monastery of the 'Great Forest'.[7] The Chinese traveller saw ruinous condition of the city of Śrāvastī.[8]

Song-yun and Tao-sheng, who came to India in the first half of the sixth century AD found many temples in Kanauj but in them they did not see any monk or nun.[9] Though Kanauj was a great centre of Buddhism in Harṣa's time, many Brahmins and Deva-worshippers also used to live there. It had vihāras, but the temples were more in number than the vihāras.[10]

Hiuen-tsang mentions that the city of Vaiśālī was not in ruinous state in his time. He found here several hundred Buddhist establishments. He describes further that except three or four, they were deserted and there were not many monks. But this city in his time had many Hindu-temples and several Hindu sects took their growth here and there and Digambara Jainism also developed firmly.[11]

Udyāna (Uddiyāna) in Swāt in north-western India was an important centre of Buddhism. It had 1,400 monasteries and 18,000 monks. But Hiuen-tsang was quite unhappy to see the miserable condition of Buddhism there. He describes that there were not many monasteries and the monks did not follow the teachings of Buddhism properly. They took keen interest in magical exorcism.[12] Hiuen-tsang found the ruinous state of 1,000 monasteries in Gandhāra. "In Gandhāra there were only a few Buddhists ... and the Buddha's sacred bowl had vanished."[13] Many heretics used to live there at that time.[14] From Hiuen-tsang's account we learn that "the decay was most pronounced in the north-east and south."[15]

Takṣaśilā, Siṃhapura and Urasa were great centres of Buddhism and there were many monasteries. But in Hiuen-tsang's time they were in miserable state.[16] "In Takṣaśilā the monasteries were numerous but desolate."[17] Buddhism did not flourish in all parts of Kashmir in his time. He describes: "At the present time this kingdom is not much given to the Faith and the temples of the heretics are their sole thought."[18] "In Kashmir the people followed a mixed faith."[19] C. Elliot mentions: "In Kashmir Buddhism soon became corrupt and according to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* the monks began to marry as early as the sixth century. King Lalitāditya (AD 733-69) is credited with having built monasteries as well as temples to the sun, but his successors were Śaivites."[20] About 10,000 Buddhists used to live in Sind and there were monasteries which were hundreds in number. But Hiuen-tsang says that these Buddhists were " 'worthless person', 'as a rule, they were indolent and given to indulgence and debauchery'."[21] C. Elliot says, "No doubt this desolation was largely due to the depredations of Mihiragula."[22] Hiuen-tsang's account shows that Buddhism did not prosper in Sind. He indicates that the activities of the Buddhist monks did not help to the growth and development of Buddhism in Sind. But it is known from records that even after the Arab conquest Buddhism maintained its position in Sind. It seems that though Buddhism was there but it did not occupy a very prominent place.

Sthāneśvara had only three monasteries but there were several hundred Deva-temples.[23] Fa-hien saw about 20 monasteries in Mathurā and about 3,000 monks used to live in them.[24] But Hiuen-tsang refers to 2,000 monks in his time in his account.[25] Śrughna had only five monasteries but there were 100 Deva-temples.[26] Mātipura had 10 monasteries but Deva-temples were 50 in number.[27] There were 5 monasteries in Brahmapura but it had also 10 Deva-temples.[28] Goviṣāṇa had 2 monasteries and 30 Deva-temples.[29] In Ahicchatra and Kapitha the Śaiva-Pāśupatas were more in number than the Buddhists.[30] In Ayamukha there were five monasteries but it had 10 Deva-temples.[31]

Prayāga had only 2 monasteries but there were 100 Deva-temples.[32] Kauśāmbī had 10 monasteries but they were in ruinous state, and there were about 50 Deva-temples.[33] In Viśākhā the Buddhists and their monasteries were very few. Many heretics lived there and they had many temples.[34] Buddhism was in a miserable state in Śrāvastī. Its monasteries were in ruinous condition. There were not many followers. There were about 100 Deva-temples and their followers were quite good in number.[35] Vārāṇasī had 30 monasteries. About 3,000 monks used to live in them. But in this city there were 100 Deva-temples and about 10,000 Śaivas used to live there.[36] The above facts throw considerable light on the decay of Buddhism and, at the same time, they indicate the rapid but steady progress of Hinduism and the development of Hindu sects in different parts of India. Fa-hien's record reminds us that the decline of Buddhism had begun at an earlier date. The accounts of Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing show us the pathetic picture of Buddhism in the seventh century AD. They suggest that neither Buddhism was a prominent figure in the religious world of several parts of India nor it was able to capture the hearts of people to follow and to accept its teachings at that time. Practically, it had lost its influence on people.

Magadha gives us a different picture of Buddhism. Here it still was able to occupy a prominent place as the most important religion of Magadha. This was possible only due to the Nālandāmahāvihāra, which was still regarded as "the greatest and the best equipped international centre of Buddhistic culture."[37] C. Elliot says, "The date of its foundation is unknown but a great temple (though apparently not the first) was built about AD 485."[38] Fa-hien refers to a village called Nala but he does not mention it as a seat of learning.[39] From it we conclude that the University was not established at that time or it did not occupy a prominent place as a seat of Buddhist learning. Hiuen-tsang says that it had six monasteries which was built by various kings and it was surrounded by an enclosing wall and had one gate.[40] Here people were followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It had 50 monasteries and about 10,000 monks used to live there.[41] I-tsing[42] in his record mentions about non-religious activities of the Buddhist monks and nuns in many places of India. He criticises them for their laxity in moral discipline. But, on the other hand, he praises the monks at Magadha and in Bengal for their well-controlled manners. He says that the establishment of Magadha owned 200 villages and had 8 halls with more than 3,000 monks.[43]

Now we turn to Bengal. Tamralipti (Tāmralipta, Tamluk) in Bengal was an important centre of Buddhism. In Fa-hien's time this place had 24 monasteries.[44] But Hiuen-tsang in his record mentions

that in his time he found only 10 monasteries here.[45] But I-tsing refers to one or two monasteries in Tāmralipti.[46] Puṇḍravardhana had 20 monasteries. But it had also 100 Deva-temples.[47] In Samataṭa there were 30 monasteries as well as 100 Deva-temples.[48] There were only 10 monasteries in Karṇa-suvarṇa but it had also 50 Deva-temples.[49] The people of Kāmarūpa in Assam had no faith in Buddhism and there was not a single monastery there.[50]

C. Elliot describes, "In the Deccan and the extreme south there was also a special cause, namely the prevalence of Jainism, which somewhat later became the state religion in several kingdoms. In Kaliṅga, Āndhra and the kingdoms of the Coḷas the pilgrim (Hiuen-tsang) reports that Jainas were very numerous but counts Buddhist monasteries only by tens and twenties. In Draviḍa there were also 10,000 monks of the Sthāvira school but in Malakūṭa among many ruined monasteries only a few were still inhabited and here again Jainas were numerous."[51] Hiuen-tsang mentions that he found in Kaliṅga about 100 Deva-temples and some followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism.[52] In South India Buddhism did not prosper due to rise of Śaivism and Jainism. In Dhānyakaṭaka there were many monasteries. But there was not a single monk there. Dhānyakaṭaka, in course of time, became a great centre of Śaivism and Jainism. There were about 100 Deva-temples and several thousand followers used to live there at that time.[53] In the Coḷa country[54] the monks were very few and most of the monasteries were in ruinous state. Hiuen-tsang criticises the dirty habits of the few monks in the Coḷa country.[55] In this place there were many Deva-temples and many Nirgranthas of Jainism used to live there.[56] C. Elliot says, "I-tsing frankly deplores the decay of the faith which he had witnessed in his own life (i.e., about AD 650-700) but his travels in India were of relatively small extent and he gives less local information than previous pilgrims. Hiuen-tsang describing India in AD 629-45 is unwilling to admit the decay but his truthful narrative lets it be seen. It is only of Bengal and the present United Provinces that he can be said to give a favourable account, and the prosperity of Buddhism there was largely due to the personal influence of Harṣa.[57] In central and southern India, he tells us of little but deserted monasteries. It is clear that Buddhism was dying out but it is not so clear that it had ever been the real religion of this region. In many parts it did not conquer the population but so to speak built fortresses and left garrisons. It is probable that Buddhism of Āndhra, Kaliṅga and the South was represented by little more than such outposts. They included Amarāvatī, where portions of the ruins seem assignable to about AD 150, and Ajantā, where some of the cave paintings are thought to be as late as the sixth century. But of neither

site can we give any continuous history. In southern India the introduction of Buddhism took place under the auspices of Aśoka himself, though his inscriptions have as yet been found only in northern Mysore and not in the Tamil country.... Even in later times when it had almost completely disappeared from southern India, occasional Buddhist temples were founded. Rājarāja endowed one at Negapaṭṭam about AD 1000. In 1055 a monastery was erected at Belgami in Mysore and a Buddhist town named Kalāvatī is mentioned as existing in that state in 1533.[58] But in spite of such survivals, even in the sixth century Buddhism could not compete in southern India with either Jainism or Hinduism and there are no traces of its existence in the Deccan after 1150.[59]

In western India Buddhism declined. In Kaccha, Surat, Ujjain and Maheśvarapura the monks were very few and the non-Buddhists were numerous.[60] C. Elliot states: "For Konkan, Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarat, Hiuen-tsang's statistics are fairly satisfactory. But in all these regions the Sammitīya sect which apparently was nearer to Hinduism than the others was the most important. In Ujjain Buddhism almost extinct but in many of the western states it lingered on, perhaps only in isolated monasteries, until the twelfth century. Inscriptions found at Kaṇheri (AD 843 and 851), Dambal (AD 1095) and in Miraj (AD 1110) testify that grants were made to monasteries at these later dates. But further north the faith had to endure the violence of strangers. Sind was conquered by the Arabs in 712; Gujarat and the surrounding country were invaded by northern tribes and such invasions were always inimical to the prosperity of monasteries."[61]

Thus the above accounts remind us of the decadence of Buddhism in the 7th century AD. I-tsing even says that "the teaching of the Buddha is becoming less prevalent in the world from day to day."[62] "When I compare what I have witnessed in my younger days and what I see today in my old age, the state is altogether different and we are bearing witness to this and it is hoped we shall be more attentive in future."[63] It is to be noted here that "though he speaks regretfully of lax or incorrect discipline, he does not complain of the corruption of the faith by Tantrism and magical practices."[64]

Here we can mention some of the prophecies and legends relating to "the life-span of the Doctrine of Buddha."[65] These prophecies and legends have no connection with historic facts. They are more or less imaginary tales. Even then, they indicate that the decay of the Doctrine of the Buddha began from about the fifth century after Nirvāṇa. The Pāli canon records a prophecy, which is said to have been made by the Buddha. According to it, the Buddha himself has prophesied that the length of the Doctrine would be shortened

byfive centuries because of the admission of women to the *Samgha*.[66] It decribes: "If Ānanda, women had not received permission to go out from the household life and enter the homeless state, under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathāgata, then would the pure religion, Ānanda, have stood fast for a thousand years. But since, Ānanda, women now have received the permission, the pure religion, Ānanda, will not last so long, the Good Law would now stand fast for only five hundred years."[67] This passage shows that the Good Law (Saddhamma) will not last long. The decadence of the religion would begin five hundred years after the death of the Buddha, i.e., the first century AD.[68]

Bu-ston's *Ch'oshbyun* refers to this tradition.[69] The text, 'the Sūtra of the Gratitude of Buddha' describes: "the prophecy therein lays down that if the Lord permits that women enter his congregation, the Highest Doctrine will cease to exist 500 years earlier (than it would otherwise)."[70] Another text, that *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* mentions that "the real Doctrine is to exist for 500 years and the next 500 years there will be only a resemblance of it."[71] The *Rāṣtrapāla Paripṛcchā-sūtra*, a work of the sixth century AD, refers to the Buddha's prophecy relating to the decay of Buddhism.[72]

Hsin-hsing (AD 540-94), who is regarded as the founder of the "Third Degree Sect" in Japan, has made a prediction that the religion of the Buddha would disappear after 1000 years of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa and his followers would lead a life contrary to the doctrine of the Buddha.[73]

Hiuen-tsang in his account mentions a number of legends "which were current in India in the 7th century AD."[74] He heard these legends from the local people. He gives an account of the Buddha's prediction about Kaniṣka's stūpa.[75] His prophecy is that "when this tope had been seven times burned and seven times rebuilt, his religion would come to an end."[76] Hiuen-tsang knew that the tope had already been burned down four times[77] and he understood that soon the religion would come to an end what the Buddha had predicted. Hiuen-tsang then mentions that with the disappearance of Buddhism the images of Avalokiteśvara would be disappeared. This he heard at Bodh Gayā. He describes: "An image at the south corner had already disappeared upto the breast."[78] Then he in his account writes that he had a dream at Nālandā. He narrates: "... soon after the death of Śīlāditya Harṣavardhana the doctrine of Buddha would be visited by a terrific calamity and the great halls of Nālandā would be deserted, its glorious chambers turned into the dwelling of the water-buffaloes and that a devastating fire would reduce to ashes all its structures and towns around it."[79] The Muslim records[80] and archaeological excavations at Nālandā[81] throw light on the total destruction of Nālandā and its surroundings. Thus these two records indicate that Hiuen-tsang's prophetic dream was fully materialized. Hiuen-tsang in his *Si-yu-ki* says that the religion of the Buddha would be disappeared finally in Kauśāmbī.[82] The *Mahāmāyāsūtra* refers to the disappearance of the doctrine after 1,500 years of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa.[83]

Thus the above facts lead us to conclude that the decadence of Buddhism began in several parts of India in the seventh century AD when Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing came to India. Lalmani Joshi says, "It cannot be denied that in certain parts of India it was still in prosperous condition and in a healthy state when the Chinese pilgrims were touring. It is equally undeniable, however, that on the whole, in most places of India, Buddhism was losing its hold on people before the exapanding and evergrowing tide of Hinduism, while in South India Jainism was gaining the upper hand. Thousands of monasteries throughout the length and breadth of India had been deserted and dilapidated before the seventh century was out. The various legends and prophecies concerning decline of Buddhism seem to suggest that the declining tendencies had been in progress from about the fifth centuries after Nirvāṇa."[84] The facts mentioned above will serve as background of this chapter which deals with the causes of the decline of Buddhism in India.

There were several factors which were responsible for the decay of Buddhism in India:

1. *Laxity in Monastic Discipline and Improper Conduct of Monks and Nuns*

Hiuen-tsang in his record mentions about the behaviour of the Buddhist monks and nuns. This is no doubt an important cause for the growth and progress of Buddhism. But the Chinese traveller in his account says that the moral conduct of the monks and nuns was very low in several places of India. He describes further that the Buddhist monks who belonged to Bolor or Balti (modern Little Tibet) did not behave properly and "they were without any definite learning."[85] He then says about the Sammitīya monks of Sind.[86] He states, "They were indolent, worthless persons given to debauchery. Though they wore the monastic dress yet killed animals, reared cattle and maintained wives and children."[87]

Kalhaṇa, the famous historian of Kashmir, was the author of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. He writes that king Meghavāhana's (AD 600) queen was Yūkādevī,[88] who was a pious lady. Under her patronage a vihāra was built. That vihāra had two parts, "one half was allotted to regular monks of good conduct and the other half to those who had wives, sons and property and were thus blameworthy."[89]

I-tsing in his account refers to Bhartṛhari.[90] "Though a devout Buddhist and no mean scholar, Bhartṛhari became seven times a monk and returned as many times to the life of a householder."[91] The Chinese pilgrim says further that there were many monks in his time who were morally backward than Bhartṛhari.[92]

The *Mālatīmādhava*, a work of Bhavabhūti, refers to Kāmandakī,[93] a Bhikkhuṇī (nun) who "is engaged in bringing about a private union among the lovers."[94] This indicates that there was no discipline in the Buddhist *Saṃgha*. How shamelessly the Buddhist monks and nuns used to behave during this age? Daṇḍin in his *Daśakumāra-carita* (AD 7th century) gives us a pathetic picture of the Buddhist *Saṃgha* and the Buddhist society.[95] He says, "the Buddhist nuns are the 'go-betweens' and a Buddhist woman is depicted as an expert in procuring lovers."[96] Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* is another work which refers to "a *parivrājika* acting as a *pṛthamardikā* or go-between for the lovers."[97] The *Prabodha-candrodaya* of Kṛṣṇamiśra, a work of the middle of the eleventh century AD, mentions a dissolute and atheistic group which was formed by the Buddhists, the Jainas and others.[98] The *Caturbhāṇī* (or the *Śṛṅgārahāṭa*) which was probably written in the seventh and eighth centuries AD, describes that the princes, Brāhmaṇas, poets, learned grammarians and the Buddhist monks used to visit the houses of courtesans.[99] In it we find that Saṅghadāsikā, a Buddhist nun, is a procuress.[100] In one place she is getting consolation from a degraded Buddhist monk with Buddha-words.[101] In this work we find that monks and nuns are playing the roles of *pṛthamarda* and *pṛthamardikā*.[102] Kshemendra's *Narma-Mālā* which was written in the eleventh century AD speaks of a "a Buddhist nun who acts as the traditional go-between."[103] The *Lataka-Melaka* was written in the first part of the 12th century AD by Kavirāja Śaṅkhadhara. It gives an account of Vyasenākara, the Buddhist monk, who is "making advances to a washer woman."[104] The *Mattavilāsaprahasana*, which was written by Mahendravarman I, the Pallavaking (*c.* AD 600-30), refers to the Buddhist monk's indulgence in wine and women.[105] This work describes further that the Buddhist monk for the justification of his activities quotes scriptures.[106] The *Bhagavadajjukam* is another work which depicts a picture of the life of the Buddhist monks in the Buddhist *Saṃgha*. Its commentator thinks that it was Bodhāyana's work.[107] But some scholars refer to Mahendravarman I, the Pallava king as its author.[108] It records that beggars and paupers used to join the Buddhist *Saṃgha* in those days with the main object of getting free food, accommodation and of leading a happy and comfortable life.[109] Due to their admission Buddhism lost its popularity and ultimately that led to the decay of

Buddhism. I-tsing mentions that in his time there were many monasteries where not only greedy but selfish monks used to live there.[110] They led a life which was totally against the doctrine and discipline of the Buddhist *Saṃgha*. They "did not admit a stranger to reside there. Thus those who come from any quarter are induced by these monasteries themselves to lead the unlawful life."[111] I-tsing states that in India many monasteries used to maintain corn-fields, bulls and monastic servants.[112] He records: "it is unseemly for a monastery to have great wealth, granaries full of rotten corn, many servants, male and female, money and treasures hoarded in the treasury without using any of them, while the members are suffering from poverty."[113] Bu-ston writes from the *Chandragarbhaparipṛcchā-sūtra* that "1,300 years after the death of Lord (i.e. in about AD 800) the monks shall covet riches and articles of enjoyments."[114] The *Sūtra* of the *Face of Lotus* which was translated into Chinese in AD 584 describes that "the *bhikṣus* shall then take pleasure in doing evil deeds. They shall be given to theft, pillage, tending of meadows and cultivation of lands. They shall be greedy and shall grab large quantity of cattle, good clothes and fine vases ... kings also will no longer perform their royal duties."[115] The *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchāsūtra* describes: " ... monks will be without shame and without virtue, haughty, puffed up and wrathful ... intoxicating themselves with alcoholic drinks. While they beer the banner of the Buddha, they will only be serving the householders."[116] The text mentions further that "they will have cattle, slaves, and will indulge in agriculture and trade; they will be devoid of moral conduct, deceitful and possessed of wives, sons and daughters. They will be indisciplined and uncontrolled in eating and sex-play; devoid of education and honour, they will live without Prātimokṣa rules, and as unrestrained as elephants without elephant-goad."[117] Winternitz admits that " 'it must necessarily reflect actual facts' of the sixth century AD."[118]

The above discussion shows that lack of moral discipline in the *Saṃgha* is no doubt one of the causes for the decay of Buddhism in India. It is known from a number of literary works of the seventh and eighth centuries AD that the Buddhist monks and nuns showed their keen interest in non-religious affairs. They took active part in political, military, matrimonial and social affairs of the times. The records of the early Arab invasions of India refer to the activities of the monks and nuns which are no doubt against the doctrine and discipline of the Buddhist *Saṃgha*. One of the accounts mentions that during the time of invasion of Brāhmaṇābad by Caca, a "samanī" (*śramaṇa*) named Buddha-Raku (Buddha-rakṣita), who, was a married person and was an expert in magic, was able to exercise a great influence

upon the life of the king of Sind.[119] This monk even took active part in the political and military affairs of the king. The *Mrcchakatika* throws light on the position occupied by the Buddhist monks in Ujjain. It mentions that "the Buddhist monks were not held in honour in Ujjainī."[120]

Thus improper conduct of monks and nuns was no doubt an important factor for the decline of Buddhism in India. Their non-Buddhistic activities and their interest in non-religious affairs had a bad effect on the *Saṃgha*. There was no discipline in the *Saṃgha* and the monks and nuns did whatever they liked. They led a very shameful and at the same time a very unlawful life. Their moral conduct was so low that even the common people were fed up with their activities. It was because of this Buddhism lost its popularity and fell on its evil days.

2. *Schism in the Buddhist Saṃgha*

Schism in the Buddhist *Saṃgha* and disputes among the followers of numerous factious schools were important factors which no doubt weakened the Buddhist *Saṃgha* but also brought the decline of Buddhism in India. R.C. Mitra says, "Another cause suggested for the gradual enfeeblement and ultimate downfall of Buddhism is internal division leading to its splitting up into numerous factious schools."[121] The Buddha himself understood the danger of schism in the Buddhist *Saṃgha*. That is why this was denounced as one of the five deadly sins.[122] For it "the offender was to suffer a whole *kalpa* in hell."[123] From the Buddhist texts it is known that even in the time of the Buddha, schism occurred.[124] Fa-hien's record mentions that a monastery in Pāṭaliputra was closed down for 10 years.[125] Because this monastery was defeated in a debate with heretics. After the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha dissension arose in the Buddhist *Saṃgha*. There was no supreme leader to give guidance to the Buddhist monks and the *Saṃgha*. As a result the monks did whatever they liked. They interpreted the Buddha's words according to their own convenience. The interpretations of the Buddha's teachings took place in different ways and there was no purity in them. Hiuen-tsang describes, "Buddhism now is pure or diluted according to the spiritual insight and mental capacity of its adherents. The tenets of the schools keep these isolated, and controversy runs high; heresies on special doctrines lead many ways to the same end. Each of the eighteen schools claims to have intellectual superiority; and the tenets (or practices) of the Great and Small Systems (lit. vehicles) differ widely ... and many are the noisy discussions. Wherever there is a community of brethern it makes (its own) rules of gradation."[126]

The accounts of the Chinese pilgrims are important for a study of Buddhist schools which flourished in India when the Chinese travellers visited here. Fa-hien refers to one orthodox school and 96 heretical schools in the middle kingdom.[127] Hiuen-tsang gives a list of 18 orthodox schools.[128] I-tsing mentions about the four schools and their 18 sub-sects.[129] "I-tsing, though he does not furnish statistics, gives a clear conspectus of Buddhist sects as they existed in his time. He starts from the ancient eighteen sects but divides them into four groups of Nikāyas.

a. The Ārya-Mahāsaṅghika-Nikāya. This comprised seven subdivisions but was apparently the least influential school as it was not predominant anywhere, though it co-existed with other schools in most parts. The Lokottaravādins mentioned by Hiuen-tsang as existing at Bamiyan belonged to it. They held that the Buddha was not subject to the laws of nature.

b. The Ārya-Sthāvira-Nikāya. This is the school to which our Pāli canon belongs. It was predominant in southern India and Ceylon and was also found in eastern Bengal.

c. The Ārya-Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Nikāya with four subdivisions. Almost all belonged to this school in northern India and it was flourishing in Magadha.

d. The Ārya-Sammitīya-Nikāya with four subdivisions flourished in Lāṭa and Sindhu. Thus the last three schools were preponderant in southern, northern and western India respectively. All were followed in Magadha, no doubt because the holy places and the University of Nālandā attracted all shades of opinion, and Bengal seems to have been similarly catholic. This substantially the same as Hiuen-tsang's statement except that I-tsing takes a more favourable view of the position of the Sarvāstivāda, either because it was his own school or because its position had really improved."[130] He describes further that some of these schools took keen interest in the Mahāyāna. Apart from their own doctrine they also studied the Mahāyāna system of thought. But I-tsing says that their doctrines "do not accord with one another."[131] He mentions further that "they rest in their own places, and do not get themselves embroiled with one another."[132]

Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing in their records mention that in Karṇasuvarṇa there were followers of the Buddha's cousin, Devadatta, who brought the first schism in the Buddhist *Saṃgha*.[133] The Chinese travellers write that in Karṇasurvarṇa there were three monasteries where the Buddhist monks, who were known as Devadatta's followers, used to live. Hiuen-tsang says that in Sind there were many monks, who belonged to the Sammitīya school of the Hīnayāna system. They "were reviling the Mahāyāna."[134] He

describes further that Prajñāgupta, who had a great name as a teacher of the Hīnayāna, had written "a treatise in 700 *ślokas* against the Great Vehicle."[135] It is also known from his account that being inspired by the Mahāyānists of Magadha, Hiuen-tsang wrote a text in 1,600 *ślokas* to destroy the heresy.[136]

Śāntideva in his *Bodhicaryāvatāra* has tried to refute Abhidharma systems and the Vijñānavada.[137] Candrakīrti was quite well-known for his activities against "all non-Mādhyamika systems of Buddhist thought."[138] Śāntarakṣita in his *Tattvasaṃgraha* gives an account against the principles of the Vātsiputrīya sect.[139] He and Kumārila say that "the Pudgalavādins have no claims to be called the followers of the Buddha."[140]

The Buddhists and non-Buddhists have their own doctrines and systems of thought. They bitterly criticise each other's doctrines which do not accord with one another. It is quite natural that there exists no good relationship between them. But the foregoing discussion leaves no doubt that the Buddhists themselves bitterly criticised their own doctrines and systems of thought and showed their disagreements in many matters. Thus L.M. Joshi remarks, "the controversies among the Buddhists were as bitter as between the Buddhists and the non-Buddhists."[141]

3. *Mahāyānism, Development of Tantrism and Hinduistic Tendencies in Rituals and Worship*

Some critics of the seventh century AD say that the followers of the Mahāyāna were worshippers of Bodhisattvas and readers of the *Mahāyānasūtras* only.[142] The Mahāyāna introduced the image-worship, prayers, chanting of Mantras, ceremonies and rituals etc. Gradually many folk-beliefs found an important place in it. L.M. Joshi says that someone refers to the corruptions of the Mahāyāna. He describes further that Buddhism suffered a great deal owing to it. "It was to the corruptions of the Mahāyāna rather than of the Hīnayāna that the decay of Buddhism in India was due."[143] But L.M. Joshi says, "This unpleasant remark can hardly be regarded to be without some substance in it. The growth and popularity of Mahāyānism resulted not only in the increase of the votaries of the religion but also in a corresponding qualitative decay."[144] The Buddha was always against the introduction of rituals in Buddhism. That is why, rituals did not get a place in early Buddhism. But, in course of time, they found their way into it. Gradually, Buddhism came very close to Hinduism and soon the two religions lost their own identities. It was because of this, lay people did not find any difference

"between the worship of Viṣṇu and Buddha, of Śiva and Avalokita and of Tārā and Pārvatī."[145]

Some critics say that under the patronage of the Brahmins, the Mahāyāna developed. Tārānātha, the Tibetan historian, states that during the Kuṣāṇa period a Brahmin named Vidu made 1000 copies of sacred texts at Pāṭaliputra.[146] He also describes further that Kulika, a Brahmin, played a prominent part for the protection and development of the Mahāyāna at Surāṣṭra.[147] From Tārānātha's account it is also known that the two Brahmin brothers Śaṃkarapati and Mudgara Gomin sought liberation by the path of the Buddha under the direction of Mahādeva.[148] Aśvaghoṣa, Arcata, Ācārya Jetari, Ratnavajra, Śaṃkarānanda, Ācārya Śīlabhadra and Dharmakīrtti were not Buddhists but were Brahmins.[149] They were quite well-known for their great contributions to the development of the Mahāyāna system of logic.[150] The followers of Śiva, i.e., the Śaivites were able to exercise a great influence upon Buddhism. Because Hiuen-tsang heard from the Buddhist monks of Orissa that there was not much difference between the Buddhist monks at Nālandā and the Śaiva ascetics.[151]

The ideal of the Mahāyāna was Bodhisattva. The Buddhist monks as well as householders had every right to embrace Bodhisattvacaryā.[152] Hiuen-tsang, Kalhaṇa and Caca-nāma refer to 'married monks'.[153] L.M. Joshi says that "the Bodhisattvayāna ... seems to have given birth to the institution of 'married monks'."[154] The Mahāyāna admitted practices and introduced many new ideas which were not allowed in early Buddhism. It should be noted here that worship and rituals had no place in early Buddhism. They were quite unknown in those days. There was no place for gods and goddesses in early Buddhism. The Buddha was always against such ideas. But all these ideas were introduced into Mahāyānism. They made a great change in Buddhism, which, in course of time, lost its originality and pristine purity. This no doubt brought Buddhism very close to the lay people. "... these features in course of time resulted in the inner decay of the Faith."

The eighth and nine centuries AD were important in the history of Buddhism. From these periods onwards, Buddhism began to undergo changes. We see the introduction of Mantras, Dhāraṇīs, Mudrās, Maṇḍalas and other Tantric rites into Mahāyānism. In course of time the Tantric rites and rituals played a prominent role in the Mahāyāna, and day by day, they increased their importance in Buddhism. This type of Mahāyānism was known as the Tantric Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is known that Tantric Buddhism, in its later stage, was a mixture of magic, erotics and a crust of monistic philoso-

phy. We see that what a great change the Buddha's religion underwent later on. Many vulgar practices and popular imagination were admitted into Buddhism. The introduction and the development of these ideas not only affected the organisation but also the discipline of the *Saṃgha* very badly. They thoroughly changed the doctrines and practices of early Buddhism. La Vallee Poussin thinks that "this modernised form of the Sāsana compromised the existence of the community,"[155] and according to S. Levi, "this tendency most dangerous as it affected the organisation of the *Saṃgha* and revolutionised its doctrine."[156] R.C. Mitra also says that "it undermined the cohesion and integrity of the Buddhist community in India and was a contributory cause of its decline."[157] We are told that during the Pāla period Buddhism turned towards Tantrism. From this type of Buddhism appeared the Mantrayāna. Then arose the Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna and Kālacakrayāna from the Mantrayāna. This no doubt weakned the original impulse of Buddhism. As a result we see that Buddhism lost its popularity and Brahmanism prospered.

Then we see the idea of the doctrine of co-efficiency of female element in the Tantra. A Vajrayāna text describes "rāgacaryā kulaputrā yadut bodhisattvacaryā."[158] The Buddhist monk along with a female partner went to his teacher.[159] In Tantric Buddhism there were 84 Siddhas who "were either married or had espoused yoginīs."[160] Gradually, the Hinduistic elements became very prominent and assumed increasing importance in Buddhism. These elements and tendencies in rituals and worship had a very bad effect upon Buddhism. They not only weakened the original impulse of Buddhism but sounded its death-knell. R.C. Mitra says, "The increasing manifestation of Hinduistic tendencies in rituals and worship is an unfailing symptom of the weakening of the original impluse of Buddhism."[161] L.M. Joshi also remarks, "The increasing Hinduistic manifestations in the plurality of divinities, worship, ritualism and litany had already considerably weakened the original impulse and pristine purity of Buddhism."[162] The introduction of Tantric ideas in Buddhism brought the decay of the religion of the Buddha. Owing to these ideas, Buddhism came very close to Hinduism. There was not much difference between Buddhist Tantras and Śivaite and Śākta Tantras. Hindu and Buddhist Tantrists regarded the Śākta *pīṭhas* as equally holy places. There were many gods and goddesses who "became common to the pantheons of Hinduism and Buddhism."[163]

The Vajrayāna texts throw light on the Vajrayāna doctrine and practice which were quite different from the tenets of early Buddhism. The Vajrayāna says that liberty can be attained here and now in this life through the help of the Saṃsāra which is regarded as

Nirvāṇa.[164] In the Vajrayāna there was no place for the Five Moral Precepts. Pañcamakāras and five sacraments took the place of the Five Moral precepts.[165] The Vajrayāna laid emphasis on the ideal of Great Delight *(Mahāsukha)* which could be attained "by a mystic union with the yogini."[166] The Vajrayāna brought a great change in the domain of both doctrine and practice of early Buddhism. L.M. Joshi remarks, "The rationalism and intuitionalism of early Buddhism disappears and a superstitious sorcery and erotic esoterism come to the foreground. Early Buddhism condemned attachment as the fiercest fire, Vajrayāna regarded it as the supreme joy. In short, fundamental principles of Buddhist ethics, the spiritual elements conducive to Enlightenments, are entirely transformed in Vajrayāna mysticism."[167] R.C. Mitra also says, "The spirit of Buddha had been long smothered under the deadweight of metaphysical sophistry, crass idolatory and rank superstitions."[168] The Mahāyānists in order to popularise Buddhism for larger masses accepted practices which the Buddha never allowed them to introduce in early Buddhism. Not only the introduction of the Hinduistic elements in Buddhism but also the abuses of the Vajrayāna helped to corrupt the ideals of early Buddhism and, that is why, Buddhism suffered a great decline.

4. *Brahmanical Hostility and Fierce Campaigns by some Philosophers of Brahmanical Thought*

The Brahmanical hostility towards Buddhism was one of the causes of the decadence of Buddhism in India. It is quite true that at a later date the Brahmins accepted Buddha as one of the *avatāras* but they never showed their friendly attitude towards the followers of the religion of the Buddha. They always showed their hostility towards them. It is known from different records that even from the time of the Buddha the orthodox Hindus showed their bitter hostility towards him and his religion.

The *Khuddakanikāya* refers to Kāsī Bharadvāja's unfriendly behaviour towards the Buddha.[169] It also says that Aggika Bharadvāja described the Buddha as an 'outcaste'.[170] The *Saṃyuttanikāya* mentions that there was none in the village of the Brahmins who gave a grain of food to the Buddha.[171] There is a reference in the *Dīghanikāya* to Brāhmaṇa Soṇadaṇḍa's hesitation to salute the Buddha in public.[172] Because he was afraid of humiliation from his own community. The *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* describes that Moggalāna was killed by heretics or Brahminical followers.[173] King Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi adopted an anti-Buddhist measure. The king always described himself as 'unique Brāhmaṇa' 'eka bamhaṇa'. He not only "crushed the pride of the Kṣatriyas" but also "stopped the mixing of castes."[174]

Hiuen-tsang in his account writes that a Sātavāhana king killed Nāgārjuna, the philosopher.[175] This Sātavāhana king has been identified with king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, the 'eka bamhaṇa' by L.M. Joshi.[176] The *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*[177] describes that an *asura* (demon) who had no good terms with the gods introduced the āśrama called *pravrajyā* (ascetic ordination). L.M. Joshi states that most probably "the gods" here were the priestly orthodox Brahmins, who always regarded themselves a *bhūdevas*, "gods on earth".[178] They always showed their bitter hostility towards the Buddha and his followers. In the Ayodhyākāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* the Buddha is referred to as an atheist.[179] Yājñavalkya says that the very sight of a monk with yellow robes, even in dream, is a bad sign and it is better to avoid him in any way.[180] The *Bṛhannāradīyapurāṇa* describes that a Brahmin commits a principal (or great) sin if he enters the house of a Buddhist even in times of great danger.[181] The *Agnipurāṇa* says that Suddhodana's son, in order to become Buddhist, beguiled the demons.[182] The author of the *Vāyupurāṇa* refers to his contempt for Buddhists. He states, "With white teeth, eyes brought under control, head shaved and red clothes, the Śūdras will perform religious deeds."[183] The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* mentions the Buddha as a great seducer.[184] He is known as Māyāmoha. He "appeared in the world to delude the demons, taught the doctrines of *ahiṃsā* and Nirvāṇa and made people devoid of Vedic rites and religion. The followers of Māyāmoha were finally destroyed by the gods."[185] The *Śrīmad Bhāgavat* refers to Buddhism as an Upa-dharma.[186] The drama *Mṛcchakaṭika* describes that "the Buddhist monks were not held in honour in Ujjainī."[187] It mentions that the very sight of the Buddhist monks is inauspicious and should be avoided as far as possible.[188] Gaṇeśopādhyāya, the great logician, refers to Pracaṇḍa Pāṣaṇḍas as Buddhists in his book.[189] Udayana's work was *Bauddha-Dhikkāra*.[190] Thus the name suggests his hostile attitude towards Buddhism. The *Caitanyodaya-Nāṭaka* (ch. VII) of Karṇapura mentions the Buddhists of the South as *pāṣaṇḍa* or villains.[191] There are references to the Buddhists as Pāṣaṇḍas in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*.[192] It records that the Buddhists, the Mlecchas, the Śavaras etc. belonged to the same class. Bu-ston writes that the heretics of other schools became happy to examine Dharmakīrtti's logical works.[193] They were fully satisfied. But, even then, they "fastened his treatises to the tail of a dog and drove the animal in order to destroy them".[194] In order to refute the doctrines of Diṅnāga, the Buddhist logician, Uddyotakara, the famous philosopher of Brahminical thought, wrote his book.[195]

Buddhism suffered a great decline owing to the hostile activities of some philosophers of Brahminical thought and preachers of South India. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa was regarded as "the fiercest critic of Buddhism."[196] He "was the strongest protagonist of Vedic ritualism, Brahminical theology and priestly superiority."[197] C. Elliot states: "The revolution in Hinduism which definitely defeated, though it did not annihilate, Buddhism is generally connected with the names of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (*c.* 750) and Śaṅkara (*c.* 800.... Kumārila is said to have been a Brāhmaṇa of Bihar who abjured Buddhism for Hinduism and raged with the ardour of a proselyte against his ancient faith. Tradition represents him as instigating king Sudhanvan to exterminate the Buddhists...."[198] The *Ślokavārttika* throws light on his hostile attitude towards Buddhism.[199] In this work he showed the excellences of the Vedic rites and refuted the doctrines of the Buddha. We are told that Kumārila Bhaṭṭa played a prominent role for the extermination of the Buddhists. Sudhanvan, the king of Ujjain, acted according to his advice and he exterminated them.[200] The *Śaṃkaradigvijaya* of Mādhava and the *Śaṃkaravijaya* of Ānandagiri refer to king Sudhanvan's extermination of the Buddhists at the instigation of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa.[201] Hiuen-tsang[202] in his account records that during his visit to Ujjain he saw a king who was ruling there. He was not a Buddhist. He was a Brahmin and was well-versed in heterodox lore. The *Mṛcchakaṭika* describes that the Buddhist monks were harassed by a brother-in-law of the king of Ujjain.[203] It says, "He beat with blows a newly turned mendicant Saṃvāhaka by name, and treated other *bhikṣus* as bullocks by passing a nose-string through their nose and yoking them to the cart."[204] The *Śaṃkaradigvijaya*, the *Śaṃkaravijaya*, Hiuen-tsang's account and the *Mṛcchakaṭika* refer to the harassment of the Buddhists by the Brahmins of Ujjain. These records indicate that the followers of the Buddha faced a stiff opposition from the Brahmins in Ujjain. The *Kerala-Utpattti*, which discusses the history of Kerala, gives an account of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's role for the extermination of the Buddhists from Kerala.[205] R.C. Mitra says, "The writings of Kumārila, however, savour of no anti-Buddhist frenzy. On the other hand, he regards the Buddhist system of thought as authoritative, because it derives its inspiration from the Upaniṣad, and he further allows it the merit of having curbed extreme attachment to sensuous objects."[206] But the above facts show that it was due to the fierce campaign of Kumārila, Buddhism suffered and lost its popularity. Gopīnātha Kavirāja says, "Kumārila was one of the most potent forces actively employed in bringing about this decline."[207]

Śaṃkarācārya or Śaṃkara was a Brahmin of the south. He did a great job for the glorification of the Vedas and Vedāntas. He was against Buddhism. He built his Śṛṅgerī *maṭha* on the exact site of a

Buddhists monastery.[208] His biographies refer to his campaigns against the Buddhists and his important role for the extermination of the Buddhists from Himalayas to the Indian ocean.[209] Owing to his anti-Buddhist activities Buddhism fell on its evil days. "The Buddhist monaseries began to tremble and the monks began to disperse pell-mell."[210] According to some scholars, Śaṃkara never acted against Buddhism. He never opposed it. On the contrary, Buddhism was able to exercise a great influence upon his life. R.C. Mitra states that "no special animosity against the Buddhists is betrayed in the writings attributed to him."[211] But we get an idea of Śaṃkara's anti-Buddhist activities from a passage in the *Brahmasūtra-Śaṃkara-bhāṣya*. Here Śaṃkara states, "Buddha was an enemy of the people and taught contradictory and confusing things."[212] From the above discussion we conclude that due to bitter hostilities and fierce campaigns of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Śaṃkara, Buddhism disappeared from many parts of India. The Baudann stone inscription refers to one Varmaśiva who told with great pride that he destroyed an image of the Buddha in the south before his arrival in Boḍāmayuṭā in Pañcāla in the first half of the 12th century AD.[213] A Chālukya inscription[214] says that Vīrapuruṣa, who was a feudatory chief, showed his hostility towards the religion of the Buddha. It was due to him, Buddhism did not prosper. He installed a Śiva-*liṅga* on a throne. We know from a record that a Vaṅgāla army not only destroyed but burned down a part of the famous monastery of Somapura and one monk called Karuṇaśrīmitra died during this raid.[215] Thus the Brahminical hostility was one of the major causes for the decline of Buddhism in India. As a result we see that Brahminism revived. Gradually, it prospered in many parts of India under the patronage of Uddyotakara, Kumārila, Śaṃkara, Udayana and Vācaspati Miśra, the protagonists of Vedism and Brāhmaṇic philosophy.[216]

5. *The Doctrine of Suffering (Dukkhavāda)*

Another cause of the decline of Buddhism was its doctrine of suffering. According to it, life was full of suffering. It preached us further that birth, old age, disease and death were nothing but full of suffering. Its basic teaching was "that all is sorrow, all is ephemeral, all is void."[217] The Buddhists were always pessimists. Their pessimism could not attract the minds of the laity, who did not like to suffer. R.C. Mitra says, "it was poor consolation for the frailties of the faltering heart."[218] Thus the doctrine of suffering failed to attain its object.

6. *Royal Persecution*

Royal persecution of Buddism in India was responsible for the decay of Buddhism in the country. But, according to some scholars, the persecution of the Buddhists by some Brahminic rulers was the most potent factor which contributed to bring the decline of Buddhism in India.

We are told that Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (*c.* 187-151 BC), the Brāhmaṇa ruler, persecuted the Buddhists in a very violent way. Tārānātha refers to Puṣyamitra as a cruel persecutor of Buddhism. Several Chinese and Japanese historians mention Puṣyamitra's name at the head of the list of persecutors. The Purāṇas state that Bṛhadratha, the last Maurya Emperor of the Magadha kingdom, was murdered by his commander-in-chief of the forces, Senāpati Puṣyamitra, who captured the throne of Magadha and founded the Śuṅga dynasty, which ruled for a period of one hundred and twelve years (*c.* 187-75 BC).[219] The assassination of Bṛhadratha marked the end of the Maurya empire after reigning for a period of about one hundred and thirty-seven years. Inspite of the different opinions regarding the lineage of Puṣyamitra, his Śuṅga origin is generally accepted and he was regarded as the founder and the first ruler of the Śuṅgas. H.C. Raychaudhuri says, "Buddhist writers are alleged to represent Puṣyamitra as a cruel persecutor of the religion of Śākyamuni."[220] According to the *Divyāvadāna* and Tārānātha, Puṣyamitra was a fierce enemy of Buddhism. The former source[221] says that he destroyed stūpas, burnt many monasteries from Madhyadeśa to Jālandhara in the Punjab, and killed many learned monks. He even made an attempt to destroy the Kukkuṭārāma, the famous monastery at Pāṭaliputra, but he could not do any harm. But some scholars remark that "he justified his position as head of the Brahminic reaction by destroying the Buddhist monasteries on the one hand and, on the other, he restored the sacrificial ceremonies of the Brahminic faith with the help of some of his contemporary Brāhmaṇa leaders."[222] The performance of two horse sacrifices by Puṣyamitra after his wars with Vidarbha and the Yavanas possibly indicates that Puṣyamitra was a Brahminic in the truest sense of the term.

Hiuen-tsang[223] refers to a king named Vikramāditya. He describes that this king harassed Vasubandhu's teacher Manoratha, a Buddhist philosopher. The king felt so much when he knew that Manoratha gave one lac gold coins to a barber who shaved his head and face. He then arranged a meeting and asked 100 heretical scholars to meet Manoratha in a discussion. He then told them that "if the Buddhist monks failed to prevail, 'they shall be exterminated'." "Manoratha defeated 99 heretical scholars, his opponents, but at the time of his discussion with the last opponent the king and several non-Buddhist people shouted in a loud voice and did not allow Manoratha to

continue his meeting with his opponent. On seeing it, Manoratha felt sorry and sent a letter to Vasubandhu, his pupil. He wrote that "in the multitude of partisans there is no justice" and he died soon. The Chinese pilgrim describes further that king "Vikramāditya lost his kingdom and was succeeded by a king who showed respect to a man of eminence."[224] When the new king ascended the throne, Vasubandhu defeated all heretical teachers. According to scholars, king Vikramāditya was Skandagupta who assumed the titles of Kramāditya and Vikramāditya.[225]

Another cruel persecutor of Buddhism was Mihirakula (Mihiragula), the tyrant Turuṣka.[226] According to Tārānātha[227] and Buston,[228] he was Turuṣka who occupied the throne of Kashmir. He was a great enemy of Buddhism, Kalhaṇa, the famous historian of Kashmir and the author of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, says that for his atrocities he was like a Yama, the god of death.[229] The Kashmirian historian describes further: "One's tongue would become polluted if one attempted to record his cruelties and evil deeds in detail."[230] From his account it is known that Mihirakula played an important part for the development of Brahminism.[231] He was a worshipper of Śiva and in Śrīnagara he built a temple of Śiva. He oppressed the Buddhists and he behaved with them very cruelly. At his instigation not only many Buddhists were murdered but many stūpas, caityas, vihāras and other Buddhist establishments were destroyed in the Punjab and Kashmir. He regarded the Buddhists "as unrighteous and rebellious." It is said that he "overthrew stūpas, destroyed the Saṅghārāmas, altogether one thousand six hundred foundations." We are also told that he killed nine hundred *koṭis* Buddhist followers.[232] R.C. Mitra describes, "... in Kashmir, Buddhism had the unique misfortune of having had to suffer organised persecution probably under Mihirakula and occasional oppression as under Harṣa and Kalasa."[233] The *Sūtra* of *Face of Lotus* gives an account of Mihirakula's hostility towards Buddhism. It says that Mihirakula persecuted the Buddhist monks in Kipin and at his instigation the sacred bowl of the Buddha was broken.[234] From the *Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yuanching* it is known that Mihirakula demolished many monasteries in Kipin, the Buddhist monks were killed by him and Siṃha, the 23rd patriarch, was put to death by his order.[235]

A seal of Toramāṇa, another Hūṇa ruler, was discovered in the ruins of the Ghoṣitārāma monastery at Kauśāmbī.[236] This signifies that the Hūṇas probably under the leadership of Toramāṇa destroyed this monastery. From an account of Joseph Edkins it is known that "at the beginning of the sixth century, the number of Indians in China was upwards of three thousand.... They came as refugees from Brahminical persecution."[237] It is very probable that owing to the persecution of the Buddhists by the Hūṇas, those Indians, who were Buddhists, went to China to save themselves from the hands of the Hūṇas. From a tradition it is known that Nāgārjuna's disciple Āryadeva was murdered by a person whose teacher was defeated in debate at the hands of Āryadeva. But Āryadeva was a kind-hearted person. He requested his followers to pardon that person who took his life.[238]

The next king, who showed his great hostility towards Buddhism was Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa. L.M. Joshi says, "Among the ancient Indian princes, the most notable example of anti-Buddhist Brahminical fanaticism after Puṣyamitra Śuṅga is presented by Śaśāṅka...."[239] At his instigation a sacred stone, which had the mark of the foot-prints of the Buddha, in Pāṭaliputra, was thrown into the Ganges.[240] He not only uprooted the holy Bodhi-tree at Bodh Gayā, but also in order to destroy it totally, he burnt its remains.[241] A Buddha image from a temple east of the Bodhi-tree was removed by him and in its place, he installed an image of Śiva.[242]

The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* refers to Śaśāṅka's hostilities towards Buddhism and it also corroborates Hiuen-tsang's record. It describes: "Somākhya (Śaśāṅka) of wicked intellect will destroy the image of the Buddha. He, of wicked intellect, enamoured of the words of the *Tīrthikas,* will burn the great Bridge of Dharma as prophesied by the former Buddhas. Then, that angry and greedy evil-doer, of false notions, and bad opinion, will bring down all the monasteries, gardens and cetiyas and the rest-houses of the Nirgranthas."[243]

The Life of Hiuen-tsang[244] gives an account of the bitter hostility of the Brāhamaṇas of Kanauj towards Buddhism in the reign of Harṣa. It says, "the learned Brahmins of Kanauj being jealous of the unusual prominence and favour accorded to the Buddhists by Harṣa, set fire to the pavilion built for reception of the Chinese pilgrim and even made an attempt on the Emperor's life." It also mentions further that Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa "threatened the monks of Nālandā with a behaviour similar to that of Śaśāṅka, and with the destruction of the whole monastery unless Hiuen-tsang were peremptorily despatched to his court."[245]

After some times Buddhism flourished in Bengal under the patronage of the Pāla rulers, who were great patrons of Buddhism. But during the Pāla period Buddhism turned towards Tantrism. From this type of Buddhism appeared the Mantrayāna. Then arose the Vajrayāṇa, Sahajayāna and Kālacakrayāna. This no doubt weakened the original impulse and purity of Buddhism.[246]

7. *The Muslim Persecution*

Another cause for the decline of Buddhism in India was the Muslim persecution. It is generally believed that Buddhism suffered very much due to the conquests of the Muslim invaders who had no faith for other religions. V. Smith says that "the Muslims were the greatest religious persecutors." Wherever they went they killed followers of other religions and destroyed their establishments. It is known from historical records that towards the end of the eleventh century AD Kutub-ud-Din's general Ikhtiyar-ud-Din Muhammad who was also known as Muhammad Bakhtyar with two hundred soldiers attacked the Odantapurī monastery in Bihar which was then an important centre of Buddhism. He not only captured it without any resistance but also killed its inmates. R.C. Mitra describes: "The monasteries had been the nerve centres of Buddhism, and with their collapse, communal life was uuhinged and abruptly terminated. Their very concentration had made the monasteries easier targets of attack than the Hindu temples and sacred places, which must have provoked equal fury of the Moslems."[247] In this connection C. Elliot describes that "the Mahammedans had no special animus against Buddhism. They were iconoclasts who saw merit in the destruction of images and the slaughter of idolaters. But whereas Hinduism was spread over the country, Buddhism was concentrated in the great monasteries and when these were destroyed there remained nothing outside them capable of withstanding either the violence of the Muslims or the assimilative influence of the Brāhmaṇas."[248] We are told that Buddhism anyhow continued to maintian its precarious existence for a few centuries beyond in Bengal, Orissa and some other parts of the Deccan.[249] C.Elliot states, "Tārānātha says that the immediate result of the Moslim conquest was the dispersal of the surviving teachers and this may explain the sporadic occurrences of late Buddhist inscriptions in other parts of India."[250] Tārānātha mentions that a king whose name was Cangalarāja, rebuilt the ruined Buddhist temples of Bengal in AD 1450.[251] From his account we also do not get a discouraging picture of Buddhism in the Deccan, Gujarat and Rājputānā after Muhammedan conquest of Magadha.[252] But he states that "the study of magic became more and more prevalent."[253] From manuscripts preserved in Nepal we learn that many Buddhist works were written by Bengali copyists in the fifteenth or sixteenth century AD.[254] Abhaya Rāja, a Nepalese visited Bodh Gayā in AD 1585.[255] When he returned to his country, he built in Pātan a monastery "imitated from what he had seen in Bengal".[256] The Tashi Lama from Tibet sent an embassy to Bodh Gayā.[257] C. Elliot describes: "It is plain that persecution was not its main cause nor even very important among the accessory causes. The available records contain clearer statements about the persecution of Jainism than of Buddhism but no doubt the latter came in for some rough handling, though not enough to annihilate a vigorous sect. Great numbers of monasteries in the north were demolished by the Hūṇas and a similar catastrophe brought about the collapse of the church in Bihar. But the last incident cannot be called religious persecution, for Muhammad did not even know what he was destroying. Buddhism did not arouse more animosity than other Indian religions; the significant feature is that when its temples and monasteries were demolished it did not live on in the hearts of the people, as did Hinduism with all its faults."[258]

8. *Decline in the Patronage of the Ruling Powers and Nobility*

Some modern scholars always argue that the prosperity of a religion depends on the active support and patronage of the rulers, nobles and clans of the time. They think further that decline in the royal patronage of Buddhism is the most important cause for the disappearance of Buddhism in India. It is true that Gautama Buddha and his disciples achieved success in a great measure in their missionary activities by securing active support and patronage from different royal houses as well as ministers, noblemen, bankers and wealthy citizens, with the result that this new faith gradually came to the forefront and spread in different parts of India. N. Dutt observes: "Thus we see that Buddhism owed much of its expansion to Buddha's ability in securing sympathy and patronage of kings, nobles and clans, who in many cases had already been supporting other religions. Though later in the field, Buddhism could supplant at times the other religions, ultimately monopolising the sympathy and support of some of the magnates." Aśoka, Kaṇiṣka, Harṣavardhana and the Pāla rulers played prominent roles for the progress of Buddhism. In the history of Buddhism the place of the Maurya emperor Aśoka may be ranked as second to that of Śākyamuni, the founder of the religion. "Aśoka did for the religion of Buddha what Darius the Great or Xerxes had done for that of the *Avesta* and St. Paul did for that of Christ."[259] Buddhism secured the imperial patronage of Aśoka and it was mainly through his efforts the religion was raised form the position of a local faith to the status of a world religion. The reign of Kaṇiṣka was an important period in the history of Buddhism. It can be said that it was the most inspiring period for the religion of Śākyamuni and was an age of great Buddhist activity. Next we turn to Harṣavardhana, who came to the throne nearly six hundred years after Kaṇiṣka. It was through his strenuous efforts that Buddhism

reached again the zenith of its glory during his rule. His zeal for the cause of Buddhism was remarkable. Next we come to the Pālas. "The century that followed Harṣa's rule saw a state of anarchy unfavourable to the growth of a monastic religion like Buddhism, which depended so much on the patronage of the rulers."[260] At that time Buddhism was anyhow maintaining its precarious existence in Kashmir and North India only. But with the rise of the Pālas, Buddhism, which had fallen into decay since the death of Harṣa, again came into the picture. The patronage of the Pāla rulers gave a new impetus to Buddhism in north-eastern India and "thus saved it from the destinywhich overtook it in other parts of India." Although Buddhism disappeared from several regions of India, but Bengal during the Pāla period was its last resort. The form of Buddhism that flourished under the patronage of the Pālas was Mahāyāna with elements of Tantrism. C. Elliot observes: "After the epoch of Śaṅkara (*c.* AD 800), the history of Indian Buddhism is confined to the Pāla kingdom. Elsewhere we hear only of isolated grants to monasteries and similar acts of piety, often striking but hardly worthy of mention in comparison with the enormous number of Brahminic inscriptions. But in the Pāla kingdom Buddhism, though corrupt, was flourishing so far as the mumber of its adherents and royal favour was concerned.... But as a ruler the Pālas, though they favoured Buddhism, did not actively discourage Hinduism. They even gave grants to Hindu temples and their prime ministers were generally Brahmins who used to erect non-Buddhist images in Buddhist shrines. The dynasty continued through the eleventh century and in this period some information as to the condition of Indian Buddhism is afforded by the relations between Bengal and Tibet. After the persecution of the tenth century Tibetan Buddhism was revived by the preaching of monks from Bengal. Mahīpāla then occupied the throne (*c.* 978-1030) and during his reign various learned men accepted invitations to Tibet. More celebrated is the mission of Atīśa, a monk of the Vikramaśīla monastery, which took place about 1038. But about the same time the power of the Pāla dynasty and with it the influence of Buddhism, were curtailed by the establishment of the rival Sena dynasty in the eastern provinces. Still, under Rāmapāla, who reigned about 1100, the great teacher Abhayakara was an ornament of the Mahāyāna. Tārānātha says that he corrected the text of the scriptures and that in his time there were many Pandits and resident *bhikṣus* in the monasteries of Vikramaśīla, Bodh Gayā and Odantapurī.

There is thus every reason to suppose that in twelfth century Buddhism still flourished in Bihar, that its clergy numbered several thousands and its learning was held in esteem."[261] The Pālas were the last patrons of Buddhism, and with their death ended the royal patronage of Buddhism. It is known that when the Arabs attacked the Buddhists of Sind there was no ruler who came forward with his army to save them from the hands of the Muslim invaders.[262] Similarly, we see, when Bakhtyar Khalji's soldiers attacked and sacked the Nālandā-mahāvihāra, neither there was any ruler nor his soldiers came to help to save and to protect the unarmed Buddhist monks and their sacred place from the hands of barbarism.[263] After the Pālas, Buddhism, due to want of its patron, lost its influence and popularity. Gradually, it turned more and more towards Brahminism and finally, it was absorbed with Brahminism.

L.M. Joshi mentions that there was an allegation against the Buddhists by a scholar.[264] The latter says that the Buddhists adopted Pāli language as their official language and they hated Sanskrit. He thinks that Buddhism suffered a great decline owing to the attitude of the Buddhists. But his statement is totally wrong. He is keeping wrong ideas in his mind. It is true that the Buddhists adopted Pāli as their official language but they neither hated Sanskrit nor they avoided it. From the second century BC onwards we see the development of the Buddhist literary world with the help of Sanskrit language. It is said that "the history of Buddhist literature from *c.* 200 BC to *c.* AD 1200 is an essential and important part of the growth of Sanskrit literature."[265] Aśvaghoṣa, Āryasūra, Bhartṛhari and Śāntideva who were Buddhists, but they occupied permanent places in the world of Sanskrit literature.[266] Sanskrit was used to write the *Abhidharma* texts, the *Vinayas* of several schools, the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras* and the *Mahāyāna sūtras.*[267] Kātyāyaniputra, Nāgārjuna, Kumāralabdha, Āryadeva, Maitreyanatha, Asaṅga, Harivarman, Vasubandhu, Manoratha, Śaṅghabhadra, Diṅnāga, Bhavya, Buddhapālita, Candrakīrti, Dharmakīrti, Śāntideva, Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīla, Dharmottara, Haribhadra etc. wrote their philosophical treatises and commentaries in Sanskrit. This may throw light on the contribution of these scholars to the development of Sanskrit language and literature. We cannot imagine that the persons who hated Sanskrit devoted their time and energy to the growth and progress of Sanskrit language and literature. All their literary products were written in Sanskrit. Thus the allegation brought by that scholar against the Buddhists is not based on solid ground.

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[54] Ibid.
[55] *DBI*, 140.
[56] *HAB*, II, 100.
[57] Ibid., II, 108, fn 1—"Even at Kanauj, the scene of Harṣa's pious activities, there were 100 Buddhist monasteries but 200 Deva-temples."
[58] Ibid., 108; *MCI*, 203.
[59] *HAB*, II, 108.
[60] *SBCI*, 301.
[61] *HAB*, II, 108-9.
[62] Takakusu, 28; *DBI*, 141.
[63] *HAB*, II, 103.
[64] Ibid., II, 103-4.
[65] *SBCI*, 302.
[66] Ibid.
[67] *CV*, 376.
[68] *SBCI*, 302.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.; *BHB*, II, 102-3.
[72] *SBCI*, 303; *RPPPS*, 136 ff.
[73] *DBI*, 140.
[74] *SBCI*, 303.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.; Watters, I, 204-5.
[77] *SBCI*, 303.
[78] Ibid., 304; Watters, II, 115.
[79] *SBCI*, 304; Hwui Li, 154-55.
[80] *SBCI*, 304; *TNMM*, 552.
[81] *SBCI*, 304.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Watters, I, 371-72.
[84] *SBCI*, 304.
[85] Watters, I, 240.
[86] Watters, II, 252; Beal, 461-62; *SBCI*, 305; *DB*, 141.
[87] *SBCI*, 305.
[88] Ibid.; *RTG*, III, 12; *DBI*, 141.
[89] *SBCI*, 305; *RTG*, III, 12; *DBI*, 141.
[90] *SBCI*, 305; Takakusu, 179.
[91] *SBCI*, 424, fn 47; Takakusu, 179.
[92] *SBCI*, 305.
[93] Ibid.
[94] *SBCI*, 305; *DBI*, 142.
[95] *HSL*, 80.
[96] Ibid.; *SBCI*, 142, 306; *DBI*, 142.
[97] *SBCI*, 306; *DBI*, 142; *MVM*, I.
[98] *SBCI*, 142.
[99] Ibid.; *JRASCS*, 1924, 136; *CTB*, 14, 157-58.
[100] *SBCI*, 142.
[101] Ibid., 306.
[102] Ibid.
[103] *DBI*, 142.
[104] Ibid.; *HSLT*, I, 252, 409, 496-97.
[105] *SBCI*, 306; *DBI*, 141; *HCIP*, III, 260; *BSDAS*, V, 697-717.
[106] *DBI*, 141.
[107] Ibid.; *SBCI*, 306.
[108] *DBI*, 141; *SBCI*, 307.
[109] *DBI*, 142; *SBCI*, 307; *VBI*, VI, 141.
[110] Takakusu, 194-95; *SBCI*, 307.
[111] Takakusu 194-95; *SBCI*, 306.
[112] Takakusu, 61; *SBCI*, 306.
[113] Takakusu, 494-95; *SBCI*, 306; *DBI*, 141.
[114] Takakusu, 306; *BHB*, II, 171 ff; *DBI*, 140.

[115] Takakusu, 306; *CTL*, 465; *DBI*, 139.
[116] Takakusu, 307; *CTL*, 140; *RPPPS*, 137-38.
[117] Takakusu, 307; *CTL*, 137-38.
[118] Takakusu,, 307; *HILW*, II, 331.
[119] Takakusu, 307; *HIH*, I, 147.
[120] Takakusu, 307; *MCKK*, VII-VIII.
[121] *DBI*, 143-44.
[122] *DBI*, 144; *SBCI*, 308.
[123] *DBI*, 144; *EM*, 142.
[124] *CV*, 283 ff; 406 ff; *LB*, 187 ff; Hwui Li, 176; Watters, I, 32, 313, 325; II, 100, 252.
[125] *DBI*, 144.
[126] Ibid.; Watters, I, 162; *SBCI*, 308.
[127] *DBI*, 145; Legge, 62.
[128] *DBI*, 145.
[129] Ibid.
[130] *HAB*, II, 101-2.
[131] *DBI*, 145.
[132] Ibid.; Cavannese, 90-91.
[133] Watters, II, 191; Takakusu, 6-7; *SBCI*, 35, 308.
[134] Watters, II, 258; *SBCI*, 308.
[135] Watters, II, 259; *SBCI*, 308.
[136] Watters, 308; Hwui, Li, 159, 165.
[137] Watters, 308; *BCV*, IX, 15 ff.
[138] Watters, 308.
[139] Watters, 308-9; *TGTGP*, 217 ff.
[140] Watters, 309; *TGTP*, 217 ff.
[141] Watters, 309.
[142] Ibid.; Takakusu, 14.
[143] Watters, 309; *HAB*, II, 6.
[144] Watters, 309.
[145] Ibid.
[146] *DBI*, 154.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Ibid.; *HMBIL*, 102-3, 142, 186, 188-89.
[150] *DBI*, 154.
[151] Ibid.
[152] *SBCI*, 309.
[153] Watters, II, 252; *RTG*, III, 12; *HIH*, I, 147.
[154] *SBCI*, 309.
[155] *DBI*, 146; *BEM*, 160.
[156] *DBI*, 146; *AEHE*, 1.
[157] *DBI*, 147.
[158] *SBCI*, 310.
[159] *GST*, 37.
[160] *SBCI*, 310.
[161] *DBI*, 155.
[162] *SBCI*, 310.
[163] Ibid.
[164] *DPD*, v. 90; *HT*, I, 104; *PPVS*, 23.
[165] *SBCI*, 310.
[166] Ibid.; *CVPR*, vv. 6, 19, 33; *GST*, 26, 120; *HT*, I, 65 ff. *JNS*, 32 ff.
[167] *SBCI*, 311.
[168] *DBI*, 158.
[169] *KN*, I, 280.
[170] Ibid., I, 287.
[171] *SN*, I : Pindasutta.
[172] *DN*, I, 97.
[173] *DPK*, III, 65.
[174] *SI*, I, 196-98.
[175] Watters, II, 201.
[176] *SBCI*, 425, fn 80.
[177] *BYDS*, II, 6, 30.
[178] *SBCI*, 425, fn 80.
[179] *RY*, 34, 109.
[180] *YVS*, I, 271-72.
[181] *BRP*, XIV; *DBI*, 137; *SBCI*, 311.
[182] *AP*, XVI, 1, 3; *SBCI*, 312.
[183] *VYP*, LXXVIII, 58-59; *SBCI*, 312.
[184] *SBCI*, 312; *VPR*, (III) XVIII, 13-18.
[185] *SBCI*, 312; *VPR*, XVIII, 13-18.
[186] *DBI*, 137.
[187] *SBCI*, 307, 311; *MCKK*, VII-VIII.
[188] *SBCI*, 311-12.
[189] *DBI*, 137.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Ibid., 138.
[193] *BHB*, II, 153.
[194] Ibid.
[195] *NV*, Introductory stanza.
[196] *SBCI*, 312.
[197] Ibid., 312-13.
[198] *HAB*, II, 110.
[199] *SLVK*, 163 ff.
[200] *SBCI*, 312; *DBI*, 128.
[201] *DBI*, 128.
[202] Watters, II, 250.
[203] *MCKK*, VIII.
[204] Ibid., VIII; *SBCI*, 312.
[205] *SBCI*, 313; *HKL*, I, 453, fn 1; *BK*, 179 ff; *DBI*, 128.
[206] *DBI*, 128; *TV*, 1-4.
[207] *SBCI*, 313.
[208] *HAB*, II, 210.
[209] *SDV*, I, 93; *BDC*, Introduction, 11-12.
[210] *SBCI*, 314; *DBI*, 129.
[211] *SBCI*, 314; *DBI*, 130.
[212] *BSSB*, II, 2, 32.
[213] *DBI*, 132; *DHNI*, I, 554.

[214] *DBI*, 132; *ARASIAR*, 1929-30, 171.
[215] *DBI*, 132; *EI*, XXI, 97.
[216] *SBCI*, 314.
[217] *DBI*, 162.
[218] Ibid.
[219] *DK*, 30-31.
[220] *PHAI*, 388-89.
[221] *DV*, 433-34.
[222] *BCLV*, I, 215.
[223] Watters, I, 211-12.
[224] Ibid.
[225] *PHAI*, 577.
[226] *DBI*, 20.
[227] *TGBI*, 96.
[228] *BHB*, II, 119.
[229] *RTG*, I, 289.
[230] Ibid., 304.
[231] *RTG*, I, 305-7.
[232] *SBCI*, 320; Watters, I, 288-89.
[233] *DBI*, 28.
[234] Watters, I, 290.
[235] Ibid.
[236] *SBCI*, 321.
[237] Ibid.; *CB*, 99.
[238] *DBI*, 126.
[239] *SBCI*, 321.
[240] Watters, II, 92.
[241] Watters, 118, 121-22.
[242] Ibid., 111, 115-16; Beal, 236-349.
[243] *AIHIST*, 59; *GBG*, II, 12 ff.
[244] Hwui Li, 179.
[245] Ibid., 171.
[246] Ibid., 420.
[247] *DBI*, 148.
[248] *HAB*, II, 112-13.
[249] *DBI*, 148.
[250] *HAB*, II, 113.
[251] Ibid.
[252] Ibid.
[253] Ibid.
[254] Ibid.
[255] Ibid.
[256] Ibid.
[257] Ibid.
[258] Ibid., 119-20.
[259] *AHI*, 329-30.
[260] Bapat, 64.
[261] *HAB*, II, 111-12.
[262] *SBCI*, 319.
[263] Ibid.
[264] *JGJRI*, IX, 1951, 111-22.
[265] *SBCI*, 326.
[266] Ibid.
[267] Ibid.

Chapter 14

Conclusion: No Decline but Gradual Assimilation with Brahminical Religion or Is Buddhism Really Extinct from the Motherland?

Buddhism, under royal patronage, occupied a prominent position in the religious history of India. It played a very significant role not only in its religious world but also in other countries. Soon it became one of the most important religions of the world. But owing to various causes and circumstances, it lost its influence and popularity and gradually disappeared from its motherland. Several scholars gave opinions relating to the various factors which led to its decline. They argued that neither there was decline of Buddhism in India nor there was really the extinction of Buddhism from the motherland. According to them, the most important factor relating to the decay of Buddhism in India was "the gradual almost insensible assimilation of Buddhism to Hinduism".[1] V.A. Smith thinks, "The total disappearance of the Buddhist worship from India, the land of its birth, has been the subject of much discussion and some misconception. Until lately the assumption commonly was made that Buddhism had been extinguished by a storm of Brahmin persecution. That is not the true explanation. Occasional active persecutions by Hindu kings, like Śaśāṅka, which no doubt occurred, though rarely, formed a factor of minor importance in the movement which slowly restored India to the Brahminical fold. The furious massacres perpetrated in many places by Musalman invaders were more efficacious than orthodox Hindu persecutions, and had a great deal to do with the disappearance of Buddhism in several provinces. But the main cause was the gradual, almost insensible, assimilation of Buddhism to Hinduism, which attained to such a point that often it is nearly impossible to draw a line between the mythology and images of the Buddhists and those of the Hindus. This process of assimilation is going on now before our eyes in Nepal, and the chief interest which that country

offers to some students is the opportunity presented by it for watching the manner in which the octopus of Hinduism is slowly strangling its Buddhist victim. The automatic compression of the dying cult by its elastic rival is aided by the action of the Government, which throws its influence and favour on the side of the Hindus, which abstaining from violent persecutions of the Buddhists."[2] S. Radhakrishnan says, "Buddhism perished in India to be born again in a refined Brahminism."[3] Gradually Buddhism was absorbed with Hinduism which accepted many cardinal elements of the religion of the Buddha. It is known that the Mahāyāna admitted many ideas from Hinduism and the latter also took certain teachings of Buddhism. This 'give and take' policy of these two religions did not help Buddhism. On the contrary, it lost its identity and gradually it came to be absorbed with Hinduism. L.M. Joshi states that "the Tantra practices harmonized the two systems so completely that Buddhism's independent existence might have appeared needless or even impossible."[4] The Tantras made a great influence upon Buddhism, R.C. Mitra says, "The Tantras constitute a conspicuous land-mark in the history of Buddhism, for they were to alter the shape of Buddhism beyond recognition and further narrow down the gulf that still separated the Buddhists from the Hindus."[5] La Vallee Poussin also gives an account of the influence of the Tantras on the history of Buddhism. He remarks that "with the prevalence of the Tantras among the Buddhists, 'their pantheon, characteristic mythology, their transcendental philosophy, their principles of life and of salvation, everything is thrown into a topsy-turveydom'."[6] Csoma de Kores, Burneuf and several other scholars think that the Buddhists based their own Tantras "by means of manifest borrowing of the language as well as the practices of the Śaivas."[7] La Vallee Poussin refers to Buddhist Tantrism, "as practically Buddhist Hinduism or Śaivism in Buddhist garb."[8] C. Elliot states, "Even in the monasteries the doctrine taught bore a closer resemblance to Hinduism than to the preaching of Gotama and it is this absence of the protestant spirit, this pliant adaptability to the ideas of each age, which caused Indian Buddhism to lose its individuality and separate existence. In some localities its disappearance and absorption were preceded by a monstrous phase, known as Tantrism or Śāktism, in which the worst elements of Hinduism, those which would have been most repulsive to Gotama, made an unnatural alliance with his church."[9] In Hinduism there are references to the Buddha as an *avatāra* or Viṣṇu. This was a "well-conceived and bold stroke of policy (which) cut the ground from under the feet of Buddhism."[10] We are told that Hinduism under the influence of Buddhism prohibited animal

sacrifices of the old religious and social customs of the Brāhmaṇas, relaxed the rigidness of its caste-system, and organised its monastic community on the model of the Buddhist *Saṃgha*.[11] Śaṃkara's philosophical terminology, his doctrine of *māyā*, and of the 'non-dual' are exactly like the doctrines of the Mādhyamika system of thought.[12] C. Elliot says, "The debt of Śaṅkara to Buddhism is an interesting question. He indited polemics against it and contributed materially to its downfall, but yet if the success of creeds is to be measured by the permanence of ideas, there is some reason for thinking that the vanquished led the conqueror captive. Śaṅkara's approval both in theory and in practice of the monastic life is Buddhistic rather than Brahminical. The doctrines of *māyā* and the distinction between higher and lower truth, which are of cardinal importance in his philosophy, receive only dubious support from the Upanishads and from Bādarāyaṇa, but are practically identical with the teachings of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism and it was towards this line of thought rather than towards the theism of the Pāśupatas or Bhagavatas that he was drawn. The affinity was recognised in India, for Śaṅkara and his school were stigmatized by their opponents as Buddhists in disguise."[13] Even in modern Hinduism many Buddhist ideas, rites and ceremonies were admitted. All these facts indicate that Hinduism accepted Buddhist ideas to organise its monastic community and to revolutionise its doctrines and practices. Practically, Hinduism did not find any difference between it and Buddhism. This may lead us to conclude that the Buddha may be regarded as "a maker of modern Hinduism."[14] S. Radhakrishnan writes that the Buddha did not feel that he was announcing a new religion. He was born, grew up, and died a Hindu.[15] P.V. Kane refers to the Buddha as a reformer of "the Hindu religion as practised in his time."[16]

From historical records it is known that most of the rulers of ancient India adopted a tolerant religious policy. The tolerance of all faiths was their guiding principle. The Gupta emperors were followers of Brahminism, but they showed their liberal attitude towards other religions. It is very probable that due to their tolerant policy, Buddhism flourished side by side with Hinduism. The Maitraka kings of the Kāṭhiāwār region were worshippers of Lord Śiva but the Buddhist monks, Buddhist monasteries and Buddhist scholars received patronage from them.[17] Although king Kumāra of Kāmarūpa was not a follower of Buddhism, yet he honoured the Buddha and his followers.[18] The Bhaumakāras of Orissa were adherents of Brahminic faith, but, owing to their tolerant policy, Buddhism flourished in their kingdom and Buddhist establishments received grants from

them.[19] At first, Harṣavardhana was a devotee of the Hīnayāna. But in later life he patronised the Mahāyāna. Both Buddhists and Brāhmaṇas were equally honoured by him. It is also known that half of his subjects accepted one doctrine and half the other. His brother Rājyavardhana was a *parama-saugata* and his parents were worshippers of Śiva and the Sun.[20] Most of the kings of the Pāla dynasty were supporters of Buddhism. But, even then, the progress of Brahminism was not arrested.[21] Under their patronage many Buddhist monasteries and Hindu temples were constructed. Tāranātha mentions that the Pāla rulers used to appoint Brāhmaṇas as their chief ministers who installed many non-Buddhist images in Buddhist temples.[22] From several records of Kashmir we learn that the Kārakota rulers of Kashmir were adherents of Brahminic faith. But their queens and ministers patronised Buddhism.[23] The above facts indicate the tolerant policy of kings, queens, nobles and clans. They patronised both Buddhism and Hinduism which flourished side by side and came very close to each other. This may suggest that both Hinduism and Buddhism, owing to their tolerant, liberal and eclectic spirit, adopted and modified many ideas, thoughts and doctrines from each other. Hiuen-tsang says that he found non-Buddhists of Siṃhapura followed social and religious customs of the Buddhists.[24] He also refers to the sacred Buddhist place in Gayā where he saw many Brāhmaṇas.[25] In the Petaka hill, Avalokita began to appear as Paśupata (Śiva).[26] From a *śloka* of Dharmadāsa, the commentator of the *Candravyākaraṇa*, the *Candra* Grammar of the Gupta period, we also get an idea about the spirit of religious harmony. There are ample evidences to show that the Brahminical sects not only tolerate Buddhism but also patronise it. Dharmadāsa's *śloka* says—"Rudra Viśveśvara is the titulary deity of our family, while Lord Buddha, the conqueror of Evil, is the ornament of our family."[27] In the sixth century AD a Buddhist monastic establishment received grants from Vainyagupta, the Śaiva.[28] The Kailan charter of the second half of the seventh century AD describes that Śrīdhārana Rāta, the Vaiṣṇava ruler, gave lands to an Āryasaṃgha, the Buddhist *Saṃgha*, at the request of his minister.[29] The *Mālatimādhava*,[30] which was written by Bhavabhūti in Kanauj in the beginning of the eighth century AD, gives an opening prayer referred to Lord Śiva. But in it we see characters of a female Buddhist ascetic and her attendant. This indicates that an intermixture of Hinduism and Buddhism existed everywhere.

The Vajrayoginī copperplate of Śyāmalavarman, the Vaiṣṇava king, says that the said king offered gifts to the temple of Prajñāpāramitā.[31] Bhaṭṭa Śrīdhara, the Brahmin author, wrote *Nyāya-Kandalī* (AD 991-92), the famous commentary on logic for his great patron, the Buddhist, Pāṇḍudāsa, who established the Pāṇḍubhūmi vihāra.[32] Sarvānanda was a Vaiṣṇava. He took the help of the *Buddhacarita* and the *Saundarānanda* of Aśvaghoṣa for his logical work entitled *Tarka-Sarvasva*.[33] There are many references to Aśvaghoṣa's these two works in it. The reign of Harivarman of the Varman dynasty opens a new epoch in the history of Brahminism. Because the ruler was a great patron of the Brahminical religion. But from the colophon of two Buddhist manuscripts it is known that they were copied in the 19th and the 39th regnal years of Harivarman. The second manuscript says that the recital of the text of the second manuscript took place 5 times in 7 years when Harivarman passed his 45 regnal years.[34] This shows that although the Varmans were supporters of Brahminism, yet they encouraged Buddhist learning. An inscription of the 12th century AD found on the pedestal of an icon of Mañjuśrī refers to a Mahārāja, "who was blessed by the Goddess Caṇḍī". He was no doubt a follower of Brahminism. But he established the image of Mañjuśrī.[35]

In art and iconography there was the tendency towards closer assimilation of Buddhism with Brahminism. The 'cakra' was an emblem of Viṣṇu but the Buddhists used it and it became known as their 'Dharma-cakra'.[36] The Brahminical Hindus in order to represent the goddess of fecundity used very small ring-stones with the nude figures at the centre. The Buddhists in their discs at Taxilā and Śrāvastī imitated the same but without the nude figures.[37] Several images of Lakṣmī were found in the sealings discovered at Basarh and Bhīta.[38] Some of the Māyā figures on the balustrade and gateways were regarded by John Marshall as Buddhist reproductions of Śrī-Lakṣmī,[39] and the figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī of the Gupta period was also found at Basarh and Bhīta.[40] Like the Gandharvas and the Vidyādharas, winged spirits or the *paris* were found not only in the Buddhist monuments of Sāñcī, Bhārhut and Amarāvatī, but also in Hindu and Jaina temples.[41] The Dharma-cakra *mudrā* occupied an important place in later Mahāyāna iconography.[42] The same pose was also found in the two-armed figure of Nara in the Deoghar relief.[43] R.C. Mitra says, "The Atibhaṅga pose is a usual device to express violent passion and is embodied in representations of several Ugra or violent forms of Śiva and Śākta deities as well as of the Krodha-Devatā of the Vajrayāna sect."[44] The Buddhists, in order to display ornaments in various parts of the bodies of their images, imitated the Hindus. In the early period we see the Buddhist images of lesser deities like the Śāsanadevatās and the Bodhisattvas with ornaments.[45] But in the medieval period, especially in Eastern India, there were Buddha images with crown and a gaudy torque.[46]

From the middle of the sixth century AD onwards we see that the Buddha is referred to as an *avatāra*.[47] The *Matsyapurāṇa* describes the Buddha as the ninth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.[48] There are references to ten *avatāras* in early medieval Brahminical texts. The *Matsyapurāṇa* (285, 6-7)[49] says, "*matsyaḥ kūrma varāhaśca nārasiṃhe'tha vāmanaḥ rāme rāmaśca kṛṣṇaśca buddhaḥ kalki iti ca kramāt*" The *Varāhapurāṇa* (IV, 2) also describes ten *avatāras* and mentions the Buddhas as an *avatāra*.[50] The *Daśāvatāracarita* (1, 2) of Kṣemendra gives an account of ten *avatāras* and it refers to the Buddha (Sugatamuni).[51] The *Garuḍapurāṇa* (1, 202) describes the Buddha as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.[52] R.C. Hazra says that in the Kumbhakonaṃ edition of the *Mahābhārata*, there is a reference to the Buddha as an *avatāra*.[53] The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (58, 45) of the sixth century AD identifies the Buddha with Viṣṇu.[54] The Buddha *avatāra* was not unknown to Māgha (*Śiśupālavadha*, XV, 58).[55] The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* gives the descriptions of the Buddha.[56] More he is mentioned as a deity and also as a god who defeated demons. The *Merutantra* (ch. XXVI, on Buddha, verses 1314-28) records the Buddha as one of the ten *avatāras*.[57] On the authority of the *Brahmapurāṇa's* passage, the *Kṛtya-Ratnākara* (pp. 159-60) says that Viṣṇu, in the form of the Buddha, propagated the Śākya Dharma.[58] The *Tārātantra*[59] says that the sage Vaśiṣṭha worshipped the Buddha in order to gain an insight into the cult of Tārā. There are references to Mahāyāna deities like Akṣobhya, Amoghasiddhi, Kurukulla Paṇḍāra, Tārā etc. in orthodox Hindu Tantras.[60] Several Buddhist deities like Cāmuṇḍā, Vāśulī, Tārā and Kṣetrapāla have occupied important places in Hindu iconography.[61] In the Buddhist Sādhana of Vajrayoginī[62] we see a goddess with her severed head on her hand. In *Cordier's Catalogue* (III, 117) there is a reference to a book entitled *Chinna-Muṇḍa-Vajra-Yoginī-Sādhanam* by Sāriputra.[63] The Hindus took this conception and introduced it in the image of Chinnamastā, which was known as one group of 10 Mahā Vidyā.[64] According to B. Bhattacharya,[65] Kālī, Bhadrakālī, and Mañjughoṣa originally were Buddhist deities, but, afterwards, they were introduced into the Hindu pantheon and were accepted as the Hindu deities. N.R. Ray refers to "a hymn in the *Sādhana-Mālā* addressed to Tārādevī, where Tārā, Umā, Padmāvatī, and Veda-Mātā are conceived as identical and the ideological differences are completely obliterated in the mind of the common worshipper."[66] Both the Hindus and the Buddhists worshipped the deities Carcikā and Mahākāla.[67] R.C. Mitra[68] says, "The figure of Viṣṇu in meditative pose, and these of Lokeśvara Viṣṇu and of Dhyānī Śiva also appear to be originally Buddhist in conception." The name Sarasvatiī which was inscribed in Northern characters of the Gupta period, was found in

the circular seal no. 18 discovered at Bhīta. She was accepted as the Buddhist goddess in the Buddhist pantheon and "was worshipped as the female counterpart of Mañjuśrī, the Buddhist god of learning."[69] Kuvera, the god of wealth, was known in the Buddhist pantheon as Kuvera and Jambhala.[70] Hārītī was the Śakti of Jambhala. The Buddhists worshipped Hārītī as the giver of wealth as well as the protectress of infants like Saṣṭhī Devī, the Hindu goddess.[71] Dharmarāja Yama, the god of death, is referred to as Dharmapāla in the Buddhist pantheon.[72] Indra, the wielder of thunderbolt, was adopted by the Buddhists in their pantheon. There he was known as Vajradhara.[73] A. Getty thinks that a conception of Avalokiteśvara with 5 heads reminds us of Śiva in form.[74] Similarly, the Buddhist Marīcī and her chariot drawn by seven boars give us an idea of the Brahminical god Sūrya or the Sun and the chariot drawn by the seven horses.[75] The discovery of the images of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Pārvatī in Nālandā indicates that the Buddhist monks of the Nālandā monastery used to worship them no doubt.[76] It also suggests the importance of the Brahminical gods and goddesses in the sacred places of the Buddhists. A standing metal image of Śiva with four arms known as Śiva Lokeśvara of the 10th century AD was found at Keśavapur in Barisal.[77] There was a small two-armed figure of Dhyānī Buddha on the top of the image. Many Śakti image found in Bengal had five miniature figures on the top of the black slab and this reminds us of the influence of the Mahāyāna Buddhism.[78] Brahminism made a great influence upon Buddhist theology and iconography. The *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka* (11, 41, I, V, XV, 21, etc.) identifies the Buddha with Brahmā Prajāpati.[79] The Buddha image found at Mathurā during the reign of Kaniṣka was given the epithet Pitāmaha.[80] The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (LVIII, 44) mentions the Buddha on a lotus like the father of the world.[81] R.C. Mitra says, "From this the transition was easy to the conception of Buddhist Triad composed of Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi evolving in close parallelism to the Brahminical Triad of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva."[82]

An image of the goddess known as the Buddhist Bhrikuṭi-Tārā was kept in the Dacca Sāhitya Pariṣad. On her left side there was an image of a goddess known as Śitalā which reminds us a Hindu prototype of Hārītī.[83] B. Bhattacharya identifies three bronze deities seated on an ornamental pedestal in the Baroda State Museum as Mañjuśrī, Gaṇeśa and Viṣṇu.[84] Nammalwar, who belonged to the ninth century AD, says that the Buddha as an *avatāra* was very popular in South India.[85] The *Amarakośa* which belonged to the 18th century AD was written by Manohara Dās. It says that Śāsta is a synonym referring to the Buddha.[86] Gopīnātha Rao mentions that in the Malayalam

country many persons are known by the name of Śāsta (Śāstra).[87] It is a very common name for people of that region. In its every temple there is a shrine of Śāsta in the south-west corner. The Tamils refer to the same god as Hari-Hara-Putra or Ayyar.[88] R.C. Mitra says, "The extreme popularity of the name Śāsta in old days in the Tamil country also can be evident from the fact that in all examples of grammar the subject of the sentences is frequently Sattan (Śāsta)."[89] The *Śrī-Bhāgavata* says that Śāsta or Hari-Hara-Putra takes his birth from the union of Hara with Viṣṇu in the form of Mohinī. Thus from the above facts we conclude that the "Buddha, as conceived in the Tamil country, was included ultimately in the Hindu pantheon and a Purāṇic story was invented later."[90] It is also known that in the post Gupta period several Brahminical Purāṇas were compiled and they refer to the Buddha as an *avatāra* of the god.[91] Jayadeva, the court poet of Lakṣmaṇasena, in his *Gītagovinda,* speaks of the Buddha, as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.[92] An inscription[93] in Northern characters of the 10th or 11th century AD discovered on the Mahādeva temple near Titilagarh of Orissa says that an *ācārya* named Gaganśiva, who belonged to the Matta-Mayūra school of orthodox Śaiva ascetics, erected this temple. It had the images of Someśvara, Śiva, Svāmin (Kārttikeya) and Lakṣmī and of Siddheśvara (Buddha). This is the clear evidence of the admission of the images of the Buddha to Brahminical temples during the 10th or 11th century AD. R.C. Mitra states, "It is an indication that the process of accommodating Buddha in the Hindu pantheon and of his worship as a god had been already in vogue in Orissa, as elsewhere in India."[94]

It is generally believed that originally the Jagannātha temple of Purī was a Buddhist shrine.[95] Caṇḍi Dāsa,[96] in his verses mentions it and he says further that the three images of Jagannātha, Balarāma and Subhadrā were the incarnations (*avatāras*) of Buddhist Trinity.[97] R.C. Mitra describes: "the three figures are held symbolic of the later Buddhist Tantric ideology. Jagannātha is Upāya, uniting with Subhadrā or Prajñā to produce Balarāma or Bodhicitta, representing the phenomenal world."[98] N.N. Basu refers to Saralā Dās's *Mahābhārata* and states that the poet here offered his prayer to the Buddha *avatāra* who was staying at Nīlācala or Purī.[99] Not only Achyuta Dās but many medieval poets of Orissa describe Jagannātha as Buddha incarnation.[100] *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* describes that in modern representations of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, Jagannātha occupied the place of the Buddha.[101] "The ninth or Buddhāvatāra is sometimes represented by Jagannātha."[102] C. Elliot says that "there are reasons for thinking that Jagannātha is a form of the Buddha and that the temple at Purī was originally a Buddhist site. It is said that it contains a gigantic statue of the Buddha before which a wall has been built and also that the image of the Jagannātha, which is little more than a log of wood, is really a case enclosing a Buddhist relic."[103] The Saraks of Baramba, Tigaria and the neighbouring region of Cuttack refer to themselves as Buddhists.[104] C. Elliot states, "There name is the modern equivalent of Śrāvaka and they apparently represent an ancient Buddhist community which has become a sectarian caste."[105] They once a year visited the cave temples of Khandagiri to offer their prayer to a deity called Buddhadeva or Caturbhuja.[106] All their ceremonies commence with the formula *ahiṃsā parama dharma* and they respect the temple of Purī, which is suspected of having a Buddhist origin.[107]

Thus from the above facts it is clear that the Buddha was accepted as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. S. Radhakrishnan writes, "It is an accepted view of the Hindus that the supreme as Viṣṇu assumed different forms to accomplish different purposes for the good of mankind. The Buddha was accepted as an *avatāra* who reclaimed Hindus from sanguinary rites and erroneous practices and purified their religion of the numerous abuses which had crept into it."[108] C. Elliot also describes, "At the present day the Buddha is recognised by the Brāhmaṇas as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, though the recognition is often qualified by the statement that Viṣṇu assumed this form in order to mislead the wicked who threatened to become too powerful if they knew the true method of attaining superhuman powers ...."[109]

According to M. Monier-Williams,[110] Buddhism gradually disappeared from India and was "unattended by any serious or violent religious revolution." He says that "Buddhism, in fact, could never have maintained itself in India till the twelfth or thirteenth century of our era, had it not gradually, and to a great extent through interaction with Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, dropped its unnatural pessimistic theory of life and its unpopular atheistic character, and accommodated itself to these systems."[111] He also points out that as soon as Buddhism discarded its ultra-pessimism and its atheistic and agnostic ideas, it lost its individuality and its independent outlook.[112]

Vaiṣṇavism showed keen interest to adopt all the popular features of Buddhism. It even accepted the Buddha as one of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. Śaivism encouraged abstract mediation, and in some matters it came very close to Buddhism. That is why, we see that, when Buddhism declined in India, the Buddha's images were converted into representations of Lord Śiva, seated in "profound contemplation."[113] The interaction between the three religious systems worked very well. It went to such an extent that "each was influenced and modified by the other; each learnt something, or adopted some

practice from the other."[114] In course of time Buddhism adopted Śāktism, i.e., the worship of energy or force (*śakti*), identified with Śiva's consort. The Buddhist theory of the origin of the universe has much in common with the doctrine of the self-evolution of all things from Prakṛti. Buddhism also even admitted Tantrism in its worst forms.[115] M. Monier-Williams says that the Brāhmaṇas did not forcibly expel Buddhism from India. He adds further, "It simply in the end possibly as late as the thirteenth century of our era—became blended with the systems which surrounded it, though the process of blending was gradual."[116] He also speaks of the friendly tolerance which existed between Brāhmaṇas, Buddhists and Jainas. These three religions flourished side by side and their followers lived peacefully.

M. Monier-Williams records, "It must nevertheless be admitted, that in the extreme south of India, and perhaps eventually at Benares and a few other strongholds of Brahminism, the difference between the systems became so accentuated as to lead to grievous conflicts. Whether blood was shed it is impossible to prove; but it is alleged, with some degree of probability, that violent crusades against Buddhism were instituted by Kumārila and Śaṅkara—two well-known southern Brāhmaṇas noted for their bigotry—in the seventh and eighth centuries of our era. It does not appear, however, that they were very successful either in the conversation or extermination of Buddhists.

It may, I think, be confidently affirmed that what ultimately happened in most parts of India was, that Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas crept up softly to their rival and drew the vitality out of its body by close and friendly embraces, and that instead of the Buddhists being expelled from India, Buddhism gradually and quietly lost itself in Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. In fact, by the beginning of the thirteenth century very little Buddhism remained on Indian soil. In a philosophical drama called 'the Rise of the Moon of knowledge' (*Prabodh-Candrodaya*), written probably about the twelfth century, the approaching triumph of Brahminism over Buddhism is clearly indicated; for the Buddhist and other heretical sects are represented as belonging to the losing side.

Yet, after all, it is scarcely correct to say that Buddhism ever wholly died away in India. Its name indeed perished there, but its spirit survived, and its sacred places remain to this day. Its ruined temples, monasteries, monuments and idols are scattered everywhere, while some of these have been perpetuated and adopted by these later phases of Hinudism which its own toleration helped to bring into existence."[117]

M. Monier-Williams describes further that "the ultra-tolerance which was the very essence of both Brahminism and Buddhism must have prevented actual persecution, except under special circumstances. Brahminism was much more likely to have adopted Buddhism as part of its system, than to have persecuted and expelled it. In point of fact, the Brahmins, as is well-known, are ready to regard any great teacher as one of Viṣṇu's incarnations, and in this way are even willing to pay homage to the Head of Christianity."[118]

The above discussion leads us to conclude that Buddhism did not disappear from India totally. It is true that it lost its individuality and its independent outlook but its existence was always there. Gradually and quietly it was absorbed with Hinduism. C. Elliot says, "Yet in reviewing the disappearance of Buddhism from India we must remember that it was absorbed not expelled. The result of the mixture is justly called Hinduism, yet both in usages and beliefs it has taken over much that is Buddhist and without Buddhism it would never have assumed its present shape. To Buddhist influence are due for instance the rejection by most sects of animal sacrifices; the doctrine of the sanctity of animal life; the monastic institutions and the ecclesiastical discipline found in the Dravidian regions."[119]

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[1] *EHI*, 382; *PHBP*, 19; *IP*, I, 609; *SAMSJV*, III, 420-21; *CTHI*, IV, 47-48; *VBA*, 1954, 150-55; *LN*, 317.

[2] *EHI*, 382-83. [3] *IP*, I, 609. [4] *SBCI*, 318.

[5] *DBI*, 65. [6] Ibid.; *BDHD*, 397. [7] *DBI*, 68; *IHBI*, 492.

[8] *DBI*, 68. [9] *HAB*, II, 121. [10] *SBCI*, 322.

[11] Ibid. [12] Ibid., 318. [13] *HAB*, II, 211.

[14] *SBCI*, 322; Bapat, XIV. [15] *SBCI*, 324; Bapat, IX-XIII.

[16] *SBCI*, 326; *HDS*, V, II, 1004-5. [17] *SBCI*, 316.

[18] Ibid. [19] Ibid. [20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.; *HB*, I, 397 ff, pp. 414 ff.

[22] *SBCI*, 316; *HAB*, III; *TGBI*, XXVIII. [23] *SBCI*, 316.

[24] Ibid. [25] Ibid., 316-17. [26] Ibid., 317.

[27] Ibid., 312; *DBI*, 56; *BSIH*, I, 58. [28] *DBI*, 56; *IHQ*, 1947, 235.

[29] *DBI*, 56. [30] *BDW*, 168-69. [31] *DBI*, 56; *HB*, I, 200.

[32] *DBI*, 56; *BSIH*, I, 8. [33] *DBI*, 56; *PBB*, 81. [34] *DBI*, 56; *HB*, I, 201, fn 1.

[35] *DBI*, 57; *IBBSDM*, 28. [36] *DBI*, 57.

[37] Ibid., 57-58; *DHI*, 189, fn 2. [38] *DBI*, 58.

[39] Ibid.; *MS*, 60, fn 1. [40] *DBI*, 58. [41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.; *DHI*, 209, 286, 308. [43] *DBI*, 58.

[44] Ibid. [45] Ibid. [46] Ibid.

[47] *SBCI*, 317; *SPRHRC*, 41. [48] *SBCI*, 317.

[49]Ibid.
[50]Ibid.; *DBI*, 135.
[51]*SBCI*, 317.
[52]*DBI*, 135.
[53]Ibid.; *EML*, 210-17.
[54]*DBI*, 135.
[55]*SBCI*, 317.
[56]Ibid., 318.
[57]Ibid.
[58]*DBI*, 136; *HDS*, II, 722.
[59]*DBI*, 58-59.
[60]Ibid., 59.
[61]Ibid.
[62]Ibid.; *IBI*, 155.
[63]*DBI*, 59.
[64]Ibid.
[65]Ibid.
[66]Ibid.; *BIH*, 670.
[67]*DBI*, 59.
[68]Ibid.
[69]Ibid., 59-60.
[70]Ibid., 60.
[71]Ibid.
[72]Ibid.
[73]Ibid.
[74]Ibid., 61; *GNB*, 59.
[75]*DBI*, 17.
[76]Ibid., 61.
[77]Ibid., 62; *BBD*, 89.
[78]*DBI*, 62.
[79]Ibid.
[80]Ibid.; *EI*, XIX, 97.
[81]*DBI*, 62.
[82]Ibid., 62-63.
[83]Ibid., 65.
[84]Ibid.
[85]*SBCI*, 318; *ABURI*, XIV, 1932-33, 200-221.
[86]*DBI*, 123; *EHIG*, II, 489.
[87]*DBI*, 123; *EIHG*, II, 489.
[88]*DBI*, 123.
[89]Ibid.
[90]Ibid., 124.
[91]*SBCI*, 318; *SPRHRC*, 41-42; *HDS*, V, II, 992-98.
[92]Bapat, XIII, *GG*, I, 9; *DBI*, 57.
[93]*DBI*, 97.
[94]Ibid., 98.
[95]Ibid., 99.
[96]Ibid.
[97]Ibid.
[98]Ibid., 99-100.
[99]Ibid.
[100]Ibid.
[101]*DBI*, 100.
[102]*HAB*, II, 114, fn 4.
[103]Ibid., 114-15.
[104]Ibid., 114.
[105]Ibid.
[106]Ibid.
[107]Ibid.
[108]Bapat, XIII.
[109]*HAB*, II, 130.
[110]*BDW*, 162.
[111]Ibid., 165.
[112]Ibid.
[113]Ibid., 165-66.
[114]Ibid., 166.
[115]Ibid.
[116]Ibid., 166-67.
[117]Ibid., 170-71.
[118]Ibid., 171 fn.
[119]*HAB*, II, 130-31.

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